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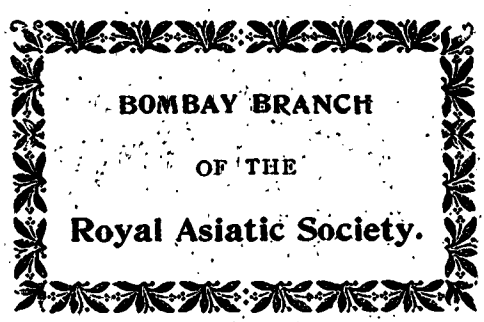

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COLONIZATION;

PARTICULARLY IN

SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA:

WITH SOME REMARKS ON

SMALL FARMS

AND

OVER POPULATION.

By COLONEL CHARLES JAMES NAPIER, C.B.
AUTHOR OF "THE COLONIES; PARTICULARLY THE IONIAN ISLANDS."

"I have never persuaded, or endeavoured to persuade, any one to quit England with the view of exchanging it for another country; and I have always had great reluctance to do any thing having that tendency."—*Cobbett's Guide to Emigrants, Letter* I. *paragraph* 1.

"I have always, hitherto, advised *Englishmen* not to emigrate, even to the United States of America; but to remain at home, *in the hope that some change* for the better would come in the course of *a few years*. It is now eleven years since I, in my YEARS' RESIDENCE, deliberately gave that advice. Not only has there, since 1818, when the YEARS' RESIDENCE was written, been no change for the better, but things have gradually become worse and worse, in short, things have now taken that turn, and they present such a prospect for the future, that I not only think it advisable for many good people to emigrate, but I think it my duty to give them all the information I can to serve them as a guide in that very important enterprize.—*Cobbett's Guide to Emigrants, Letter* I. *paragraph* 2.

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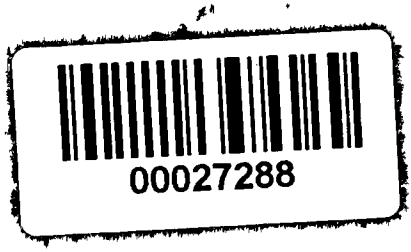

DEDICATION.

TO THE

BODY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COLONISTS,

ASSEMBLED AT

JOHN STREET, ADELPHI.

GENTLEMEN,

LIVING in seclusion from society, and in a foreign country, I had not even heard of the Australian Colony, till I was surprised and gratified by receiving from you a request that I would ask the Colonial Secretary for the appointment of Governor to your projected plantation. I was *surprised*, because I was a stranger to you all,—I was *gratified*, because I learned that you had been induced to give me this mark of your good opinion in consequence of my conduct while Resident* of Cefalonia. For that conduct, which you deem praise-worthy, I had been both punished, and insulted, by Lord Ripon, whose strange behaviour was, to me, inexplicable. It could not have arisen from any mental ascendancy, assumed by Sir Frederick Adam, for these gentlemen are so much upon a *par*, in that respect, that they always reminded me of the two Roman wrestlers, who were so equally matched that neither could overthrow the other. The effect of diet was tried: one was fed upon beef, the other upon pork. At the end of a week the beef-eater was overthrown by the pork-eater. By the way

* A title which is given to the Lieutenant Governors placed in the different islands of the Ionian septinsular republic. Why given, or what it means, I do not know.

would it not be worth trying, whether the *mind* as well as the body could be invigorated in a similar manner? and if, by cramming statesmen with *learned pigs*, an extraordinary degree of "useful knowledge" might not be instilled? Lord * * *'s love for educating the swinish multitude might be useful, if he would devote his extraordinary capacity to the rearing of political pigs for dieting "statesmen:" *arithmetical* pigs, for feeding chancellors of the exchequer: *boars*, for secretaries at war: *guinea pigs*, for lords of the treasury: and pigs that *play their cards well*, for home consumption. What wonderful things might result from such a discovery if "*carried out.*" Only fancy a government filled with the "collective wisdom" of the piggery, "going the whole hog," and baffling all ordinary cabinets! We might then lift up our eyes, and, indeed, demand where will "the march of intellect" stop?

But to quit the pig-fed statesmen, and return to my subject. You, Sirs, know that I declined asking for the appointment of Governor to the South Australian Colony, but a former Colonial Secretary having selected me as a fit subject for transportation, it is probable that the sentence may, at some future period, be carried into execution. In the interim, my time could not be better employed than in discussing the subject of our expedition; and the more I consider it, the more I think it likely to answer your expectations; but the dearth of information relative to the shores of Spencer's Gulf is lamentable. I have, in the following pages, collected all the objections that I can discover, and thus done what is in my power to prepare for meeting

the obstacles which we may have to encounter; and the confidence that we have so done, is the right temper in which to depart. *Before* we go, discussion should wear the subject threadbare, and our preparations be made as perfect as possible; but *once on board*, there must be neither doubt nor faintheartedness. We must then recollect the words of Burns:—

> " But bring a Scotsman frae his hill,
> " Clap in his cheek a highland gill,
> " Say such is royal George's will,
> " And there's the foe;
> " He has nae thought but how to kill
> " Twa at a blow."

With such a single, headlong, and determined spirit, we must fight against all difficulties from the moment we quit England: but till we *do* quit England, let us leave no objection unstated or unsifted; and having gone through all this worry till we are as bilious as the jaundice, then let us jump on board-ship and say, " our troubles are now over and we shall rest for four months, having nothing to do but amuse ourselves with the adventures of the voyage and with the fishes."

Now come our little aquatic troubles, but such griefs must be borne with patience, just as old Job would have borne them, provided his friends did not tell him that sea sickness was the will of God, which it is not, for nobody, except Noah, was ever ordered to go on board a ship.

Then you must reflect, that courage and industry will, in less than ten years, give every man an estate of *his own*, without tithes, or poor's rates, or rent to pay, and, almost, without taxes; that

"*fortune favours the brave*" is an old saying, and a true one—one to which we may trust, and should take for our motto, *after* we embark; but "*look before you leap,*" must be our creed *before* we embark; for it is your business to consider the difficulties which I have stated in the following pages, and prepare for the encounter. Quite opposed to the opinion that emigration is necessary to England, I look upon this colony merely as a matter of private, and bold speculation, which, without being of much advantage to the country, (except as a model for the curtailment of colonial expenditure) will, eventually, be very profitable to those engaged in it, as merchants, farmers, and labouring men of all descriptions.

And now, Sirs, let me thank you for the victory which you have given to me over Lord Ripon, and Sir Frederick Adam. It is the *third* victory that I have gained; and I will here mention all three, because, having been accused of nearly driving a people into rebellion by my tyrannous conduct, I am bound to prove, and will, while I have life, take every opportunity of proving, that the accusation was both false and malicious, and that I *never did* the injustice that I have been accused of having done, nor any injustice, to the people, when I was at the head of the local government in the island of Cefalonia:—an accusation wounding to any man, but most so to one who wears his Majesty's uniform. On the contrary, I did all things, that were within the compass of my small abilities, to make the King's protection *real, just,* and *honoured.*

The first victory that I obtained was the public approbation of my defence, published in a book called "*the Colonies.*" This approbation was proved by the sale of the book, of which a *second* edition shall be published whenever Sir Frederick Adam shall be pleased to answer the *first.*

The *second* victory was as follows:—I bought a small piece of ground at Cefalonia, close to the town of Argostoli. The piece of ground was three quarters of an acre in superficial contents. As I came away under circumstances of much anxiety, I left this ground to shift as it might. Being neglected, it was trespassed upon, and some poor boatmen out of regard to me, and *when all prospect of my return was at an end,* took it under their protection; brought the trespassers before the police, and fined them; preserved my fences as well as they could; cultivated the ground, and all without my knowledge, till a friend of mine wrote me word that they had paid the amount of the produce into his hands. Such were the feelings of some poor people in Cefalonia towards me, at the moment when (in consequence of my absence) the intrigues of a faction had their full swing against me! This victory was, to me, most gratifying; because it tended to confirm my hopes that the poor felt conscious I had been *just* towards them; for the accusation of tyranny, brought against me by Sir Frederick Adam, proves incontestably, if it proves any thing at all, that I did not court popularity. I was the more pleased with the feeling conduct of these poor men, because, while they thus preserved my private property and some trees

planted therein; the Government (general and local) were creditably employed in destroying trees which I had planted, on public account, to ornament the suburbs of the town. All this may appear, to the general reader, to be an uncalled-for digression; but a little consideration will convince him that it is not so much so as he may imagine; and you, Sirs, will, I am sure, pardon it, and admit that it is my business to defend my own conduct.

The third victory that I have gained over Sir Frederick Adam, is to be found in your letter to me, seeking that man for your governor, who had been, *by him*, accused of tyranny; and avowedly seeking him *on the grounds of that very conduct* which produced Sir Frederick Adam's unsustained, and silly charge! I will not say that your letter gave me *more* pleasure than the cultivation of Cutupi (the name of my beautiful little hillock overlooking the town of Argostoli,) but it has given me a far more *public triumph*, and a more *complete one*, because it is an opinion founded upon a deliberate judgement, as to the public conduct of a stranger to you all, an opinion, too, which you have formed, and acted upon at some peril to yourselves —a more impartial and decided verdict in my favour could scarcely have been pronounced.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

C. J. NAPIER, *Colonel.*

Portsmouth, May 1st, 1835.

NOTICE.

THIS book was ready for publication when, on the 20th of this month, I had an interview with Lord Glenelg, in which I told his lordship, that I could not undertake to establish the colony in a desert, without some soldiers, and the power, in case of difficulties like those which befel the people of Swan River, to draw for money on the British Government, and in the proportion administered to that settlement. Lord Glenelg desired me to go to the Commissioners, (at that moment in Session, in Lincoln's-inn-fields,) and explain to them my opinion on these two points. I did so, and these gentlemen begged of me to put what I said into writing; this, also, I did, in a letter of which the following is a copy.

No. 1.

"*May* 20*th*, 1835.

"GENTLEMEN,—Having stated to Lord Glenelg that I cannot accept the government of the South

Australian Colony, without troops, and the power to draw upon the British Government for money, in case of need, his lordship begged of me to tell you my reasons for the resolution which I have formed. These reasons are as follows:

" 1st. With regard to the money.—That while sufficient security exists for the supply of labour in the colony, and even forces that supply, there does not appear to be any security that the supply of capital will be sufficient to *employ* that labour; and if it be not employed, the consequences must be disastrous. I, therefore, deem it necessary to have the means of meeting this, and other accidents which cannot be foreseen, but which, inevitably, arise in the execution of all experiments; and the plan of this colony *is* an experiment.

" 2d. With regard to soldiers.—I will not attempt to govern a large body of people in a desert, where they must suffer considerable inconvenience, if not hardships, without I have a force to protect what is *good*, against that which is *bad*. And such a force is the more necessary where, as in Australia, the supply of spirituous liquors will be abundant. The colony will be a small army—without discipline, suffering, more or less, from privations, and with plenty of liquor. Experience has taught me what scenes this would produce, unless the governor has the command of a controuling physical force. Such then are my demands, and my motives for making them.

" I admit that these dangers, as regards capital, *may not arise;* but, unless there is proof that they

cannot arise, they ought to be prepared for; and there is, in my opinion, no excuse for not being so prepared.

" I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,'
" Your most obedient humble Servant,
" CHARLES J. NAPIER,
" *Colonel.*

" To the Colonization Commissioners
for South Australia."

I sent a copy of this letter to Lord Glenelg the same day, with the following letter to his lordship, allowing for a few, unimportant, corrections made in copying it fairly out, which I had not time to alter in the rough draft.

No. 2.

" *London, May* 21*st*, 1835.

" MY LORD,—I enclose a copy of a letter to the Commissioners; what these gentlemen will say I do not know, but no argument that they offered yesterday, changed my view of the subject. With regard to the number of soldiers, I should think that *two hundred* men would be sufficient, and marines would be best. With regard to the sum of money; I think it ought to be equal to that which was required for the Swan River Colony in its various difficulties. I really do not think we should have occasion to call for this money, but I am sure that if it *was* required, and could not be had, the result would be fearful. It is not for me to say

what can be done, or ought to be done, by Government; but I cannot undertake (conscientiously) the government of this colony, without these two points, of money, and troops, be granted. If want and misery fell upon us, not only the people *there*, but the people *here*, would, very justly, accuse me; who, *foreseeing the danger*, ventured to encounter it without sufficient preparation! I do trust that your lordship will do me the justice to believe, that I am not in any way deficient in zeal for His Majesty's Service, when I say, that unless the two points, of *money* and *troops*, be conceded to me, I cannot accept of the honour intended me. Perhaps you will be so good as to let me know your decision, for which I shall wait in town to-morrow, and return the day after to Portsmouth; unless your lordship has any further commands for me."

"I have the honour to be,
"Your Lordship's obliged and
"Most obedient humble Servant,
"C. J. NAPIER,
"*Colonel.*

"Lord Glenelg, &c."

In reply I received the following.

No. 3.

"*Downing-street, May* 22, 1835.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 21st instant, and to acquaint you that

I have not perceived any grounds for departing from the decision which I communicated to you on Wednesday, respecting your requisition for troops and money for the service of the new colony. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to concede these points; and it is my intention to communicate this decision to the Commissioners to-morrow. I regret that there should be any difficulty in granting you assistance which you may deem necessary. If you should feel an inclination for a personal interview, I shall be happy to see you between 12 and 2 o'clock to-morrow.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant,

"GLENELG.

"Colonel Napier."

To this my answer was—

No. 4.

"*May* 22, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I have to thank your Lordship for your letter of this date.

"As the Government of the South Australian colony is a matter of personal advantage, I must lament being obliged to decline accepting of it. In a public point of view, there is nothing to regret, as your lordship will find many men far more capable of leading this expedition than myself.

Men who think, with the Commissioners, that the assistance of soldiers, and the power to apply for money in case of distress, are not necessary measures of precaution. I hope that the result will prove my view of the matter to be erroneous, and that this enterprize may succeed. Thanking your lordship for your kindness to me personally,

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"C. J. NAPIER,

"*Colonel.*

"Lord Glenelg, &c."

I find no fault with the decision of His Majesty's Government, nor have I given up this enterprize in discontent. I have no concern with the policy, or impolicy, of the Act of Parliament: but, as governor, it was my business to consider the means of success which were to be placed in my hands, and *the resources to be provided in case of failure.* I did so, I asked for that which I deemed necessary. I gave my reasons for these demands to His Majesty's Secretary of State, and, at his desire, to the Commissioners: their opinion is as follows:

No. 5.

"*South Australian Commission,*

"*No.* 62, *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, May* 22, 1835.

"SIR,—I am instructed by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, stating

that you have informed Lord Glenelg that you cannot undertake the Government of the new Colony unless provided with troops, and empowered to draw on the British Government for money in case of need, and giving your reasons for this determination; and I am directed to inform you that though the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia feel it to be their imperative duty to adopt arrangements subject to the sanction of His Majesty's Government, for preserving order and securing obedience to the laws in the new Colony, and also to provide against the possibility of the voluntary emigrants whom they may send out, being exposed to destitution and want; yet they do not at present deem it expedient to detail arrangements and provisions which they may hereafter, and upon mature deliberation, recommend for adoption. At the same time they cannot withhold the expression of their opinion that your demand for a body of troops and for a large sum of public money to be placed at your disposal, is at variance with the self supporting principle upon which the new Colony is to be established.

"The most flourishing British Colonies in North America were founded without pecuniary aid from the mother country, and without the aid of a military force, though planted in the immediate neighbourhood of warlike Indian nations. The Colonization Commissioners believe that the self supporting principle which proved so eminently successful, with respect to the first British Colonies in North America, will not in South Australia involve any

of the dangers against which your demands are intended to provide.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,
" Your most obedient Servant,
" ROWLAND HILL,
" *Secretary.*

" To COLONEL NAPIER, C.B.
88, High-street, Portsmouth."

As His Majesty's Government cannot concede to me those means, which I conceive necessary to prevent the labouring portion of the colonists being thrown into great distress, I am obliged, very unwillingly, to withdraw myself from an enterprize which, I am confident, if well conducted, will succeed, so as to fulfil the most sanguine expectations of the colonists.

In conclusion, I shall take leave to make a few observations upon the letter of the Commissioners: which letter I shall divide into *five* paragraphs, remarking upon each separately.

Letter of the Commissioners divided into five Paragraphs, with my Observations upon each.

Paragraph 1.

" I am directed to inform you that, though the " Colonization Commissioners for South Australia " feel it to be their imperative duty to adopt " arrangements, subject to the sanction of His " Majesty's Government, for preserving order and

" securing obedience to the laws in the new colony,
" and also to provide against the possibility of the
" voluntary emigrants whom they may send out
" being exposed to destitution and want."

Observation.

I do not see why the Commissioners " feel it to be their imperative duty to adopt arrangements for preserving order and securing obedience to the laws in the colony," because the Act of Parliament gives them no such duty to perform, but confines their avocations to "*certain parts of this act*," namely, first, to arranging the sales and letting of land; secondly, to the appointment of officers to execute such duties; thirdly, to the transport of labourers to the colony; fourthly, to the management of loans and money affairs. Beyond this, it does not appear to me, that the act sanctions their interference in any thing relating to the colony; and that (unless they are furnished with private instructions from the Secretary of State) they assume duties which appertain, exclusively, to His Majesty's Government; and to the Governor, appointed as His Majesty's representative in the colony; he being an officer over whom the Commissioners have no control.

Paragraph 2.

" Yet they do not at present deem it expedient
" to detail the arrangements and provisions which
" they may hereafter and upon mature delibera-
" tion recommend for adoption."

Observation.

If this duty of arranging the details of the colonial government *does* rest with the Commissioners as they suppose, (but which, as far as the Act of Parliament goes, does not appear to be the case,) would it not be rational if, instead of this *mystery* in making their arrangements, they were to consult with the governor; who is the man to carry their plans into execution, and whose real, and single responsibility, is more than equal to all their collective, and assumed responsibility? He will be in the midst of the difficulties should any arise; while the Commissioners will be quietly seated in London. However, the Act of Parliament settles the question, and enables the Secretary of State, and the Governor, to make all these "arrangements and provisions" without any interference on the part of the Commissioners: and, if the Secretary of State delegates his power to these, or *any* Commissioners, he may be assured that great mischief to the colony will arise; even the genius of Marlborough was paralyzed by the Dutch deputies! I speak disinterestedly; for I have not only done with this colony, but, if my demands *had* been granted, I would not have remained Governor a day under the direction of Commissioners, with the real responsibility resting upon me; to do so would be to work with a halter round my neck. Nothing is so dangerous, publicly or privately, as responsibility without power.

Paragraph 3.

" At the same time they cannot withhold the " expression of their opinion that your demand for " a body of troops and for a large sum of public " money to be placed at your disposal, is at vari- " ance with the self-supporting principle upon " which the new colony is to be established."

Observation.

My demand for soldiers and money is *not* at variance with the " self-supporting principle of the new colony :" the expression, " *self-supporting principle,*" is as pretty a little philosophical expression as may be; but reflection will shew the Commissioners, that it is not, strictly, applicable in the present case; for that the very existence of the colony, as we see by the Act of Parliament, depends upon a *loan of* £200,000, from the good folks in England; that is to say, upon *extraneous* support: What then becomes of the "*self-supporting principle?*" The Commissioners must mean " *loan-supporting principle*" and the word " self" was an accidental slip of the pen! and how is my demand at variance with this loan-supporting system? In case the loan of £200,000 should not prove sufficient to establish the colony, to pay its own interest, and to defray the cost of Government, till the state of the colony produces a revenue equal to all this expense, I demanded to have a pledge, from the British Government, that it would supply the deficiency, and enable me to protect the colony, which might otherwise be destroyed by the miscalculation

of people in London, on whose correctness *alone*, I do not think it safe to hang the destinies of some thousands of people: therefore, my demand was that, *in case of need*, the British Government should advance the loan, instead of private people. How, in the name of common sense, this is at variance with the "loan-supporting principle," I cannot imagine, and must leave the Commissioners to explain.

As to the troops, I recommend sending out 200 British soldiers, because they would be by far the cheapest force that can be employed. Some force *must* be employed, and, besides being the most effectual force, English soldiers would *save expense*, both to the mother country, and the colony. If the Commissioners abandon the *really* "self-supporting" system of *economy*, they will soon see the result.

Paragraph 4.

"The most flourishing British colonies in North "America were founded without pecuniary aid "from the mother country, and without the aid of "a military force, though planted in the immediate "neighbourhood of warlike Indian nations."

Observation.

I have only to refer to any history of the British colonies in North America, to contradict the assertion contained in this paragraph. By such reference the Commissioners will see that, for *many years*, these infant colonies struggled with the *greatest hardships*, and that some were *entirely destroyed!*

When Pennsylvania, which suffered the least, was granted to Penn in 1682, the country had been previously occupied for above fifty years: it had numerous settlers, and was not a desert. Besides he went with quakers. If all the colonists, going to Australia, were quakers, and that I was William Penn, neither would I ask for troops! But what was the consequence of the peaceful government established by that great man? It was this, that in 1764 a body of Presbyterians chose, in their zeal against "*the heathen*," to massacre a whole tribe of harmless Indians; and "*the weakness of the Government*," says Robert Proud, the historian of Pennsylvania, "*was not able to punish these murderers nor to chastise the insurgents.*" For my own part, I have no ambition to be at the head of such a milk and water colonial government, and, while fancying myself a *governor*, discover that I was only a *foot-ball!* But we find the great Penn himself complaining that it was "*controversy*, not *government*" in Pennsylvania. Let us then put Penn and his quakers out of our heads.

All other settlements were retarded in their progress by wars. The want of regular soldiers obliged the settlers to arm, instead of attending to their peaceful avocations. Dr. Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, says, "*These infant settlements were surrounded by savages.*" (So the Australian colony will be.) "*They conceived themselves in danger when they went out, and when they came in, every man was a soldier, which produced war and of course injury to the colonies.*"

Thus it appears that, contrary to the assertion in the Commissioners' letter, there *was* "a military force;" and, had it been of a proper description, the colonies would not have suffered injury.

In 1606, King James formed a colony in America "*under the superintendence of a council in England, composed of a few persons of consideration and talents.*" King James made many blunders during his reign, and this seems to have been one of them! These Councillors directed the colony in Virginia. For near twenty years, under their superintendence, the colony suffered all kinds of misery, and was "*a prey to folly, crime, riot, and insubordination.*" During that time "*one hundred and fifty thousand pounds* and *nine thousand people had been sent from England;*" and when these Commissioners, (whose power it was, at last, deemed necessary to abolish, and who thought they could govern across the Atlantic,) were upset, there remained but *eighteen hundred* miserable colonists in Virginia! And, moreover, the famous Captain Smith, a man of extraordinary courage and talents, governed this colony for a time, and by his great abilities prevented its total ruin. Once these wild colonists expelled him, and afterwards, *when danger pressed,* elected him President! Another colony, planted near Cape Hatteras, disappeared altogether, and was never heard of more! Twenty-one years are now past since I landed, at the head of 900 British troops, on this very spot, near Cape Hatteras; and, from the nature of that coast, I can easily imagine that a colony might be there surprised and totally

destroyed, either by enemies or sickness. Some of the Australian Commissioners were, probably, then at school, so I may take the liberty, appertaining to grey hairs, and tell them that colonies, like camps, are exposed to many dangers, and, among others, those of *site*, which gentlemen, living always in London, are not, exactly, the people most fitted either to estimate, or provide against.

Paragraph 5.

" The Colonization Commissioners believe that " the self-supporting principle which proved so " eminently successful with respect to the first " British colonies in North America, will not, in " South Australia, involve any of the dangers " against which your demands are intended to " provide."

Observation.

The Commissioners say that my two demands are unnecessary, and that their opinion is based upon the flourishing state of the American colonies founded 200 years ago. Now it is quite clear that, though these colonies *eventually* flourished, they only flourished after many years of suffering, *destructive to the first settlers.* Let me then ask, why we, also, should risk the destruction of our first settlers? why inflict twenty or thirty years of misery for want of prudent arrangements? I am answered thus:—" The Commissioners do not *believe* that the self supporting system involves any of the dangers against which my demands are intended to pro-

vide." I am sure they do not—neither do I—I never said, and I never thought, that the system "*involved*" any dangers. I only said that dangers may assail the new settlement, and that preparation should be made to meet such dangers. This preparation is in no way contrary to what they call the "*self*-supporting system;" it is merely to provide a temporary force, lent to protect it in its infancy, and enable it, in due time, to act with independent vigour, instead of being strangled in the cradle. Let me state the dangers which may threaten this colony, for I verily believe that, judging from their letter to me, the Commissioners are not *yet* aware of them.

The *First* is, that the capitalists may not have money sufficient to employ the labourers who are sent out: in which case, these poor men would starve; plunder the rich settlers; or quit the colony if they had means so to do; which few among them would have. Any *one* of these three things would ruin the plantation.

The *Second* danger is, that discontent, disunion, intrigues, abundance of spirituous liquors, and so forth, may paralyze the colonial Government. I will tell the Commissioners a story; I hope it may both divert, and instruct them:—A friend of mine (who happened to be a little man) being an officer on board an Indiaman when a mutiny took place, was accosted by one of the mutineers, a man of six feet four inches high—this agreeable customer was half drunk; quietly taking the officer by the hair, he lifted him up in the air, and, holding him at

arm's length began an agreeable tête-à-tête, assuring my friend that, had he not been such a good fellow, he would heave him overboard! Now some such untoward accident, though it might place the Governor in an *elevated*, would not place him in a *dignified* situation; and (exclusive of the personal discomfort of such a position to the Governor himself) the Government of a small colony could scarcely be very vigorous where these accidents might occur, without any power to prevent, or punish them, beyond the Governor's own exertion, moral and physical. The Commissioners will, possibly, answer, "that there shall be a police force"—pray, good Sirs, recollect, that, in a young colony, there must be *high wages;* and no man will enter the police force, unless you pay him *as much as he can earn in other ways:* in London you get a policeman for three shillings a day—you will pay much more in Australia; therefore, the expense of such a force would be more than your finances can, at first, bear. Two hundred men would, probably, cost you, not less than, £12,000 a year, including lodging, clothing, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, officers, and pay; now 200 marines, being quartered on the shores of Spencer's Gulph, instead of Portsmouth Barracks, would add no expense to England. The colony might pay them, after a while, and so save their cost to the mother country.

Thirdly.—The native tribes may coalesce, and come down upon the colony in great numbers. I have heard that Captain Sturt, the famous Austra-

lian explorer, said he thought they would do so. If so, are the colonists to abandon their occupations and turn soldiers?—in this case, how is the colony to flourish? We know that at Van Dieman's Land, where there is but one tribe of natives, and that by no means a numerous one, (I think about 500,) the greatest inconvenience, and much serious mischief, has arisen to the colonists from the hostilities of the natives; yet, at Van Dieman's Land, there is an entire British regiment! I have heard, but cannot vouch for the truth of this assertion, that the Governor of Swan River Settlement wants more soldiers, and has applied for his force to be increased to 600 men!

Fourthly,—and I believe this danger to be certain, the runaway convicts from Sydney will seek the new colony. If not there received, (and received they cannot be,) they will form strong, and daring bands in the vicinity of your plantation, where there are *not* soldiers, in preference to the vicinity of the stronger settlements, where there *are* soldiers. These agreeable neighbours will, certainly, not annoy the Commissioners in the town of London, but we shall see how pleasant they will render the precincts of the new town on the shores of Spencer's Gulph; and, especially, as they will have some kindred spirits among the colonists in the town itself: women, children, and cattle, will be carried away. The Commissioners appear to me not to be aware that founding a colony in the midst of savage nations, of forests, within the reach of 5 or 6,000 felons, and the colony, itself, containing the vices,

as well as the virtues, of civilization, requires a Government of no ordinary vigour; firmness, courage, moral and physical, and great prudence to *avert* evils, (evils which, if they once come, cannot be overcome,) are qualities which such a Colonial Government must possess, or perish.

Cæsar said that a general ought to trust nothing to chance, which foresight can provide for; and the leader of a colony requires similar forecast: he is the leader of an army. The dangers I have stated, may not befal; but, if they do, *they are vital!* Whether the Commissioners, or myself, are right, the public must decide. Events cannot; for the non-occurrence of danger, is no argument against the wisdom of precaution.

I hope I have now satisfactorily explained my motives for giving up the direction of an enterprize, which, under a strong guidance, would be grand and useful; but, if rashly conducted, full of peril!*

* This notice was printed when, in the "Morning Herald" of 29th May, I saw an extract from the "*Hobart Town*" papers confirming what I say in p. 147 of this book. *War with the natives has begun!* Governor Stirling *has need of troops!* and will have *more need yet*, or I am much mistaken. The same extract states that "*the Swan River settlement* CONTINUES *to be affected with a scarcity of provisions*" after being planted about ten years. Pray mark that, reader! This extract so completely proves the propriety of my *caution*, as opposed to the *intrepidity* of the Commissioners, that I will copy it from the "Herald."

"We have received Hobart Town Papers to the 27th of December, from which we extract the following:—

"SWAN RIVER.—ATTACK ON THE NATIVES.

'An expedition had been sent against the natives on the Murray, who had been for some time the terror of the neighbourhood, the lenity and forbearance evinced by the Government having been found incompatible with the safety of either the lives or property of the inhabitants. Many atrocities had been committed by them, and at length it was resolved they should not go on with impunity. A party accordingly, consisting of his Excellency Sir James Stirling, Mr. Peel, Mr. Roe, Capt. Mears and his son, Captain Ellis, Mr. Norcott, Mr. Saweyer Smith, a party of the police, two corporals, and eight privates of his Majesty's 21st regiment, amounting altogether to twenty-five men, set out to attack them. The party bivouacked at a place called Jimjam by the natives, about eleven miles from the mouths of the Murray, and on the following morning the whole encampment advanced for Pinjarra, another place of resort for the natives of this district, where it was intended to establish a town, on a site reserved for the purpose, and to leave half the party, including the military, for the protection of Mr. Peel and such other settlers as that gentleman might induce to resort thither. From this an easterly course was taken, for the purpose of looking over the adjoining country, but the party had not proceeded more than a quarter of a mile over an undulating surface of the richest description, covered with nutritious food for cattle, when the voices of many natives were heard from the left. This being a neighbourhood much frequented by the native tribe of Kalyute, long unchecked in the commission of numerous outrages and murders, and which had hitherto eluded pursuit, since the murder of private Nesbitt, of the 21st regiment, and spearing Mr. Barron, it was resolved to proceed against them. His Excellency, with Messrs. Peel and Norcott, rode forward, to ascertain whether it was the guilty tribe, which being ascertained, the police advanced. The instant they were observed, the natives, to the number of about seventy, darted on their feet, seized their spears, and formed a formidable front; but finding their visiters still advancing, they

were seized with fear, and began to retreat, when the little party of horse, consisting of five persons, dashed into the midst of them, recognising some of the most atrocious offenders among them. One of these was celebrated for his audacity, named Noonarr, who, on being named, boldly avowed himself, exclaiming, "Yes, Noonarr, me," prepared to hurl his spear at Mr. Norcott, who, however, shot him dead in the act. The natives upon this turned to assail their attackers, and the latter commenced a general firing. The first shot and the loud yells of the savages having apprised the rest of the party of the attack, they, under the command of Sir James Stirling, hurried to the aid of their comrades, and arrived just as some of the natives had crossed and others were crossing the river, with the intention of surrounding the settlers. Astounded at the approach of this second party, who were in the rear, they fled to the river, secreting themselves among its branches and holes, immersing themselves with only the head uncovered, and ready with their spears under water to seize every advantage. The settlers, however, acted with great steadiness, and the result was that from twenty-five to thirty of the savages were slain, and the remainder fled, with the exception of eight women and some children, who, on being assured of protection, were detained prisoners. One, however, and several of the children were unfortunately killed during the engagement. As it appeared by this time that sufficient punishment had been inflicted, and as among the dead fifteen very old and desperate offenders were recognised, the bugle was sounded to cease firing, and the party re-assembled at the ford, where the baggage had been left under charge of four soldiers. Here Captain Ellis had arrived, badly wounded in the right temple by a spear, at three or four yards' distance, which knocked him off his horse, and Heffron, a constable of police, had been badly wounded in the elbow.

'At the date of the accounts both the wounded men were doing well.

'The settlement continued to be affected with a scarcity of provisions. Beef and mutton were 1s. 6d. per lb.; the 4lb. loaf 2s. 2d.; Sydney cheese 2s. per lb.; of rice there was none;

potatoes were 6d. per lb.; and tea 8s. 6d. *All kinds of spirituous and other liquors* were to be had *in abundance*, and at *cheap rates.*'

HOBART TOWN.

'The murderers of the late Dr. Wardell had been tried and executed.

'The new Commercial Bank at Sydney had commenced business. They had £16,500 presented to them the first day for discount, of which the directors looked at only one-sixth part.

'The market at Sydney is now held twice a week, Tuesday and Friday.

'*The natives in the district of Brisbane Water had become so troublesome as to induce the Government to send down a detachment of troops to protect the settlers.*

'The schooner Shamrock, belonging to Sydney, was capsized in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand, when three Europeans and seven natives lost their lives.

'The Court of Requests at Sydney, strange to say, is held in the saloon of the theatre.

'The *thirteen unhappy men*, sentenced to death at the late commission for *insurrection* at Norfolk Island, were executed in October last, the Rev. Mr. Styles and the Rev. Mr. Ullathorne having gone down to attend them in their last moments.

'The amount of money in the colonial chest at Sydney was no less than £167,000, and it was resolved to place all future receipts of the revenue in the banks, in order to enable them to distribute discounts, which, from the want of means, had of late been much contracted, and thereby led to the distress of the trading community.

'Mr. de Saram, a native of Ceylon, has been appointed Judge of the district Court of Colombo. This has taken place under the new arrangement, which opens the highest civil offices to his Majesty's subjects, whether European or native.'"

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ERRORS.

Page 10, line 23, *for* "without a thread," *read* "but without a thread."
.. 13, .. 24, *for* "in" *read* "into."
.. 14, .. 14, *for* "receives" *read* "receive."
.. 16, .. 14, *for* "who &c. on war," *read* "(who &c. on war.")
.. 28, .. 23, *for* "limited monarchy, "*read* "kingly government."
.. 28, note, line 9, *for* "make small farms, *read* "make the system of small farms."
.. 37, .. 10, *for* "pitchforks," *read* "pitchfork."
.. 47, .. 22, *for* "Sir John Colbourn," *read* "Sir John Colbourne."
.. 48, note, line 7, *for* "to his audience," *read* "and often to his audience."
.. 49, .. 1, *for* "*par example*," *read* "for example."
.. 51, .. 13, *for* "has been too short," *read* "was too short."
.. 54, .. 1, *for* "released," *read* "relieved."
.. 58, .. 5, *for* "complicated system;" *read* "complicated system?"
.. 60, .. the note ought not to be a note.
.. 63, .. 20, *for* "we read," *read* "of whom we read."
.. 66, .. 17, *for* "Mr. Carmichael," *read* "Mr. Carmichael."
.. 74, .. 7, *for* "is," *read* "be."
.. 90, .. 15, *for* "and commodities," *read* "and such commodities."
.. 95, .. 2, *for* "made," *read* "make."
.. 104, .. 2, *for* "for their gratification," *read* "for sensual gratification."
.. 109, .. 32, *for* "is of vital importance," *read* "is vital."
.. 120, note, line 4, *for* "reform will put ye both to the rout, *read* "reform will pull you both out."
.. 122, .. 6, *for* "labour," *read* "labourer."
.. 144, .. 10, *for* "decidedly fully warranted," *read* "decidedly warranted."
.. 178, .. 14, *for* "savages, and civilized folks," *read* "savages, and for civilized, folks.
.. 210, .. 31, *for* "and murders," *read* "and committed murders."

COLONIZATION,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following observations are offered to the Public, in order to promote a discussion of the merits attaching to an Experimental Enterprise of great interest. If my views are erroneous, let my errors be corrected, and thus my object will be gained.

I shall divide the subject into four chapters, viz.—

1. The reasons for forming this Colony in South Australia, with some other matters.
2. The outfit and passage to that country.
3. The state of the Colonists, and what is to be done on landing.
4. The prospects of the Colonists after landing.
5. Conclusion.

CHAPTER I.

The Reasons for forming this Colony

THERE are four reasons given for the foundation of this Colony in Southern Australia, namely,—

1. That it will give vent to our over population.
2. That it will be a market for our over produce.
3. That it will enlarge the field for employing capital.
4. That it will be a model by which to correct our system of Colonial Government.

With regard to the first of these four reasons, namely, "*that it will give vent to our over population,*" it is one which calls for the previous question; Is it *true* that we have an over population? There is a gentleman, named William Blacker, who manages large estates in Ireland, who is generally admitted to possess much local knowledge of the state of that unhappy country; who has done great good; and who has, in two pamphlets, told what he has done, and is daily doing, to benefit his country; thereby proving himself to be a more fit man to govern that country, than those who, for their long orations in the House of Commons, and for the evils they have done to Ireland, are self-styled "*Statesmen.*" These pamphlets of Mr. Blacker's have gained the prize of a gold medal, awarded to him by the Royal Dublin Society of Agriculture; a circumstance that I here state, because it stamps an authority on the opinions of Mr. Blacker, which the Public will not always give

to good sense on its own account.* Now Mr. Blacker says, "I have already extended this treatise to a "length much beyond my original intention, but I "cannot conclude without endeavouring to answer "one objection which may be made to the opinions "I have supported in the foregoing: I allude to "my objecting to the expulsion of small holders for "the purpose of consolidating farms, in regard to "which it may be asked, if this is not done, the "population is increasing so rapidly, that as families "grow up, subdivision must go on until at length "the community will become *paupers?* I might "fairly ask in return, how the plan of turning out "these families will prevent *pauperism?* It seems "to me, that the latter plan is by much the surest "way to produce such a result. But the most "satisfactory answer to the question will perhaps "be arrived at by endeavouring to ascertain how "far the apprehension of a superabundant popula-"tion, at present so generally entertained, may or "may not be justified by facts; for, if it should "appear there was land enough in the kingdom for "all its inhabitants now existing, and for as many "more as could be anticipated in any reasonable "time; and that nothing more was wanted but "proper regulations to make it available for their "wants; then the objection may fairly be con-"sidered as set aside. In a late publication, en-"titled, 'Ireland, as it was, is, and ought to be,' a "table is given of the acreable contents and popu-"lation of each county in Ireland, which may be "supposed, at least so far *relatively* accurate, as to "afford data for the following calculations.—From

* I only refer to Mr. Blacker's opinions regarding the doctrine of over population.

" this table, it appears that the county of Armagh " contains 212,755 acres, and a population of " 220,653 souls, and that the entire kingdom " contains 17,190,726 acres, and 7,839,469 souls. " Now, in the county of Armagh, by a recent sur- " vey, more than *one-seventh* of the surface is taken " up by lakes and unprofitable land, and the re- " mainder is, for the greatest part, indifferently cul- " tivated; and yet the peasantry are better clothed, " lodged, and fed, than they are in most other coun- " ties in Ireland. I cannot, therefore, be accused of " taking away from the comforts of the rest of this " kingdom by taking the county of Armagh as a " standard; and its proportion of unprofitable sur- " face is not very remote, I believe, from the average " of the others. If then, 212,755, the number of " acres in Armagh, give a population of 220,653 " souls, 17,190,726 acres, the entire contents of the " kingdom, ought to give a population of 17,828,888 " in place of 7,839,469, the population at present. " It therefore appears, that, supposing the other " parts of Ireland to be as well cultivated as " Armagh, it would support two and a-half times " the number of its present inhabitants, and be able " to export provisions largely beside; for Armagh, " notwithstanding its population, exports pork, " butter, and grain, in great quantities.

" But before deciding finally upon the population " which the kingdom could support, it ought to be " examined how far the county of Armagh, the " (standard taken) has arrived at its full comple- " ment; and in regard to this, I would say, from a " pretty general knowledge of it, that under an im- " proved system of agriculture, and a regular rota- " tion of crops, the produce would be *treble* of what

" it yields at present; and I think this may be prac-
" tically proved, if I can show farmers, possessing
" land of an average quality, who being induced to
" change their manner of cultivation in the way
" already described, are now receiving fully *treble*
" produce from the identical same farm to what it
" formerly yielded. But supposing it only to yield
" *double* as much, it would follow, that the popula-
" tion of Armagh, if that beneficial change became
" general, might be doubled also, without in any
" degree lessening the comforts of the inhabitants,
" which increase being taken as the basis of the cal-
" culation, and applying it to the whole of Ireland,
" would make it adequate to the support of better
" than THIRTY-FIVE MILLION OF SOULS.

" When, therefore, it is considered what *unex-*
" *hausted*, I might say *unexplored*, resources remain
" for the maintenance of any increase of inhabitants
" that can be expected in any definite period, it
" must, I think, be evident to every reflecting per-
" son, that all fears as to a surplus population are
" perfectly ideal, and that it is its unequal distribu-
" tion, and not its aggregate amount, which is to be
" deplored; it may be said that the quantity of
" waste land in the county of Armagh is below the
" average of the kingdom, and this I have not the
" necessary returns exactly to ascertain, but the
" proportion in Armagh would give an amount of
" 3,000,000 of acres of unprofitable land in the
" whole of Ireland, which cannot be so far from the
" truth, as in any material degree to effect the result
" of the foregoing calculation. If, then, such be the
" real state of the question, what, it will be de-
" manded, can prevent the population now in exist-
" ence from seizing upon comforts so completely

" within their reach, and applying themselves at
" once to the cultivation of these immense tracts of
" improveable land, at present lying useless? The
" answer to this will lead me to a point I wish to
" arrive at; and the reply I should give would be,
" that the chief reason was, the want of security for
" person and property, which deters the working
" classes from attempting to settle in any place re-
" mote from their own connexions, and thereby pre-
" vents the population from extending itself to the
" more uncultivated parts of the country; and being
" thus pent up in particular districts, it occasions
" land to be almost unattainable, where there is the
" greatest wish to cultivate it, and leaves it lying
" idle, where it exists in the greatest abundance.
" Any one, who knows any thing of the state of
" Ireland, knows that it is not safe in a farmer to
" emigrate, even to an adjoining parish, without
" paying largely for what is called the good-will of
" the person to whom he succeeds; which explains
" fully the reason why a sum of money, nearly equal
" to the value of the fee simple of the land, is often
" given to get into possession of a farm under a re-
" spectable landlord, in a quiet neighbourhood,
" although the land may be subject to its full value
" in rent; but to the want of security for person and
" property may also be added, the want of skill and
" capital in the working population, and the con-
" sequent incapacity of those who have neither, to
" attempt the business of reclaiming, which requires
" both, and thus (even where land might be ac-
" quired) they cannot proceed, without meeting that
" support and assistance from the landlords which
" they are, generally speaking, unwilling or unable
" to afford; and thus things have been left to take

" their own course from century to century, the " local improvement creeping on by degrees, as it " happens to be pushed forward by the advancing " tide of population in each particular district, " without almost an instance of any thing being " undertaken upon an extended scale, to bring into " cultivation the numerous tracts of country, which " would so well repay the sums that might be judi- " ciously expended on them; and the land is left " waste, which alone is capable of affording the " people necessary employment; and the people are " left turbulent, discontented, and disaffected, and " will always remain so, until employment is pro- " vided for them. The existing state of things, " therefore, operates as cause and effect; the land " lying waste leaves the people lawless and turbu- " lent; and again, the lawlessness and turbulence " of the people is the cause of the land being " left so!!"

What Mr. Blacker has here stated, seems conclusive, and is a sad picture of the state of Ireland. Indeed it is generally supposed that there are in Ireland about *five millions* of acres lying waste and capable of being turned into rich land. Mr. Nimmo, the Government engineer, said that the expense of doing this would be repaid by the first year's produce.* Ireland is then more than *thirty millions of souls short of its full population:* and we talk of the necessity of "*easing*" the population! As far as numbers are concerned, we could turn the whole population of England and Scotland into Ireland; leaving Great Britain far more desert than Southern Aus-

* See Mr. Nimmo's evidence in the reports of the Parliamentary Committees.

tralia, and not give Ireland more people than she could feed, and yet we talk of easing the population! But let us take another view of this "*easing*" affair. We are told by political economists that increase of population will follow an increase in the quantity of food; if then, by sending out colonies, you diminish the number of *eaters*, it will have the same effect as increasing the quantity of what is *eaten*, so that the principle, which produces increase of population, remains untouched, and the evil, supposing it to exist, continues to be as great as ever. In fact then, over population is a wrong term: the proper term is *over-bad government*, and the remedy consists neither in "*moral restraint*" nor emigration; which last takes away our best men, and those who are likely to produce a better system of government. Emigration is a bending and shrinking from the evil, instead of meeting it boldly. The same energies which are roused within men to make them emigrate, would, if well and constitutionally directed, expose, and consequently remove the evils which produce the *wish* to emigrate. But if any man will calculate the sum of money, and quantity of shipping required* to take away emigrants in such numbers as would relieve the population, and what it requires to make the same number happy, in-

* The number of emigrants leaving Great Britain and Ireland yearly has fluctuated of late years from 18,000 to upwards of 100,000, and yet we find no diminution of our distresses. I must leave those who hold that emigration is a relief to population to fix the numbers which we must transport, to effect the object contemplated. These folks had better send away half the population, and that half *all of one sex*. In this case the check of "*moral restraint*" would be perfect. It would be morals in a straight-waistcoat — in the stocks — or rather in a Mameluke bridle!

dustrious, and useful in Ireland, he will see that the Shannon is a far more interesting river than the St. Lawrence, in America, or the Murray, in Australia. The banks of the Shannon might be covered by those that had no distant home to mourn; who had not severed the ties of country and kindred, rather than see their children perish in the midst of plenty: a choice of evils which sends Ireland's best men abroad, and heart-broken to the grave, nor is "*Auld lang syne*" forgotten by the thousands who annually leave Scotland: let no man bid adieu to his native land and fancy that, in other climes, he can forget the country which gave him birth: the thing is impossible. But let us put all other points out of the question, and ask, are we to suppose that the Almighty, whose arrangements excite our utter astonishment and unbounded admiration, from the world of insects to the planetary system; and from whose general laws neither the telescope nor the microscope can trace a deviation, but, on the contrary, plunge us into reveries on our own nothingness; are we to suppose, I ask, that the incomprehensible Author of all these wonders has erred in that law by which the world is peopled? Has science any right to condemn, as erroneous, the operations of a power whose most ordinary works are immeasurably beyond her comprehension? Science! whose greatest successes are but imperfect explanations of some indescribably minute portion of the Divine labours; and whose mightiest efforts only show us, that our minds are totally incapable of embracing the mere idea of this universal vastness! Of no one thing that we see, can we trace the creation, the qualities, or the object, in all its ramifications.

Our utmost powers of scientific research only excite our amazement, and prove our ignorance and incapacity. And yet this same science pretends to say, that population increases too fast for the safety of the human race, and that He who has made all else perfect, has failed in this! Is neither religion, nor the reasoning to be derived from analogy, to be admitted here? Is our sense of sight, which exhibits continents scarcely inhabited, no longer to serve us when we speak of population with the political economist, whose doctrines seem to be the destruction of men, and the increase of wealth? Are we then, after all, to worship Mammon, and condemn God? It would seem so, and that, putting aside natural and revealed religion, aye and even common humanity, we are to entangle ourselves in the web of hair-splitting political economy; a study full of minute intricacies and details, while, (if we may judge by the discordance among its professors,) it seems nearly destitute of fixed principles and correct general views. A political economist of the present day, is *Theseus*, in his labyrinth without a *thread;* he is worse, for that ancient gay Lothario was full of gallantries for the fair Ariadne; but our modern political economist would not touch a petticoat with a pair of tongs, unless it belonged to Miss Martineau, and was all hemmed and flounced with "*moral restraint.*" Indeed I am inclined rather to call him the *Minotaur*, vigorously attacking population by the cruel operation of *making* old maids, instead of *eating* young ones! "But," I shall be asked, "are we not to colonize?" I answer *yes;* colonize by all means: only state the *true* and not the *false*

inducements to a noble exploit. Let us not seek puerile excuses for doing that which is, in itself, grand. Why should we seek apologies for colonizing, as if we were about to commit a crime? It is true that it may do England harm in one way; that is to say, she will lose some thousands of strong healthy people; but colonizing will not depopulate the country, and we must not seek an hundred excuses for that which we propose to do. No, let us cast away such nonsense as the excuse of "*relieving the population*," and "*adding to our commerce*," and the devil knows what; let us come at once to the plain truth, which is, that our government has been so bad as almost to defy description; and, although it is mending, still the degree of misery that has been produced is too great and too pressing, upon certain classes of the community, to await a slow coming remedy; and therefore, men seek, in despair, some place of refuge, where industry may at once enable them to feed their children, and where they will not be insulted in the midst of their sufferings, by the insolent and impious cant of "*moral restraint*," or be driven by such doctrines to seduction, and prostitution, and robbery, and murder. Crimes, but not *all* the crimes which result from the audacity of men, who attempt to thwart the course of nature, and pretend that the feelings of humanity are not to be consulted in framing acts of parliament.

In Australia we shall welcome the arrival of children with "*blessed be he who has his quiver full of them*," and so I quit this subject of colonies being a relief to population, which seems to be no more true than that you relieve the flame of a torch by lighting a taper!

The question may possibly be asked, "*what would you do with our starving population, which you and others deny to be too great, though we prove its increase by our returns?*" First, observe, good reader, that these gentlemen have no proof that the *former* returns, with which they compare the *present*, were *accurate*, and some strong reasons to suppose that they were *not so*. However, we will grant this increase, and trust that it is so—"*you admit*," add they, "*that our labourers starve: what is then to be done? are we to be devoured by poors' rates and by paupers!*" I hope so with all my heart. When I hear of great farmers groaning under the weight of the poor laws, I think of Hannibal's scornful smile when the Carthagenian senate wept. Reproached for his mirth, he answered, "*ye weep for the loss of your money, but ye wept not for the miseries of your country; scorn for you, is sorrow for Carthage.*" The great landholder weeps when he pays the poor rate, he does *not* weep when he reduces his hired labourer to work for a shilling a-day. I rejoice when I see the law give back to the labourer a small portion of that which has been unjustly taken from him; namely—his right to a fair share of what his labour produces—enough to *nourish* and to foster that labour. Holding these opinions, in common with a vast proportion of Englishmen, I could not be otherwise than pleased with two pamphlets of the celebrated Sismondi—the one entitled "*Des sort des ouvriers dans les manufactures*"—the other "*De la richesse territoriale.*" These pamphlets, justly, attack our insatiable lust of what is falsely called "*national wealth*," and to them I refer those who do not believe that GOD is a *guinea*, and the proper temple,

in which to worship him, *a manufactory full of tortured infants!*

I do not refer to these pamphlets so much from being disturbed by any doubts about my own opinions, as in the consciousness that, where the mere soldier would be ridiculed, the celebrated historian and philosopher will be attended to with respect, particularly in the fashionable world, which rarely thinks of *what* is said, but of *who* said it. The *haut ton* may be called a *polished mob*—a clean mob—a mob smelling of lavender water instead of onions. The opinions of this *lavender water* mob are generally led by a wit—or a poet—or a dandy—or a manufacturer of speeches in the House of Commons. The *onion* mob are led by a demagogue, that is to say, they feel their stomachs very empty, and some good and clever man points out what he thinks will fill them, for which, instead of being honoured, he is assailed by the lavender water mob with every species of abuse. Sometimes he gets hanged. But to return to Sismondi. Monsieur De Sismondi says, in speaking of population, "The Irish peasant *cannot sink lower than he is*, he cannot bring children in the world more miserable than he is himself, and therefore, on entering into the matrimonial state, he is the most improvident of human beings. On the contrary, in all the countries where the cultivator of the earth has a fair guarantee for his existence, some present happiness, and some future hope, his prosperity forms the only efficacious barrier to a disproportioned increase of population. No one descends voluntarily from their condition, and it is a rare thing in any country to see a son marry before he is

" certain of being able to live as his father lived " before him. The son of a small farmer gets a " small farm before he is married; but the son of a " day labourer marries when he can get a spade!" and consequently begets paupers! It is good to see so powerful an ally as Monsieur de Sismondi on the side of those who advocate the advantages of *small* farms; these farms *prevent* the existence of paupers, instead of great farms, which *create* paupers; and I was surprised to see the clever author of " *England and America*" enlist himself among the advocates of large farms. Exclusive of the industrious education which the children of a small farmer receives, and of the idle, unhappy life in which a day labourer's children are reared; although this very circumstance is alone a powerful argument in favour of small farms; exclusive of this inestimable advantage, I will meet the author of " *England and America*" on his own ground. In vol. i. p. 20. He says, that the division of land into small farms is " *unfavourable to production.*" This is *denied* by Lichtervelde, the Belgian writer on agriculture, whose reports and opinions were sought for by the ruler of the French empire, with a view to national improvement. I also made inquiries in Normandy, where I have passed the last year, and where the advantage of small farms is universally asserted. Mr. Armstrong, the vice-consul, at Caen, told me that the English government had sent queries through his office to ascertain whether the division of land in France did good or harm in that neighbourhood; and that the answers to these queries were, that the opinion was general of its great advantage; that France owed the improved state of agriculture, and the com-

paratively happy state of the peasantry, *entirely* to this division of land; that the only dissentient voices to this opinion were those men who had lost great estates; in short, the "*Carlists*," whose opinions are naturally influenced by their personal misfortunes, or, rather, biassed by their politics; for the ancient aristocracy of France has not, according to the public opinion there, any cause to complain: it is true that many lost a great deal of land, which was kept rather for pleasure than for the production of food; but, since the return of the Bourbons, those who did not get back their *land* have been repaid in *money*. And it is not generally known in England, though it is positively asserted in France, that there was scarcely a great family at the time of the revolution which was not involved in overwhelming debts, and that, though nearly all of them regained their estates, or were paid for them, *none ever paid their debts*. They are now the richest class of men in France, and free of all encumbrance. The history then of the French aristocracy for the last fifty years seems to be easily stated. By their folly they urged their sovereign to ruin; when in danger they abandoned him, and when he regained his throne by the force of foreign bayonets they did not join in the battle, but profited by the invasion! I take the accounts of their own writers, and truly one does not recognize in the "voltigeurs" that high sense of chivalry—that brilliant courage—which, in all ages, has distinguished the French nation, and at no time more conspicuously than during the reign of the emperor Napoleon. The "*Carlists*" of France seem to be those who abandoned the unfortunate and guiltless Louis XVI. and now, with their hair full of powder, and their noses full of snuff, they try to persuade the

world that Charles X. is the most perfect of princes, and the Jesuits the most perfect of priests, that large estates and feudal laws are admirable social arrangements, and that the extreme of heroism is to have made "*la retraite!*" What is that? asks my reader—you shall hear if you have patience for a long story, which is almost as great a nuisance as a large farm! and truly I am cooking up for the reader a queer dish of agriculture and politics, cabbages, and Carlists! but to proceed with my story of "la retraite."—

I was dining with a large party of French emigrants at Ghent, about a week before the battle of Waterloo—sitting next to a fine lad, who seemed to be full of his new uniform, and who occasionally gave very decided opinions on war, I asked him if he had seen any service. "*Oh, yes, sir,*" said he. I asked him where? "*Sir,* replied he, "*I have made the retreat.*" I had heard "*la retraite*" a thousand times pronounced by the company during their conversation, without being able to make out what retreat they alluded to; and from their age and be-ribboned button holes, I concluded that some or other of them had been distinguished in every retreat of note from the time of Xenophon down to that of Massena, for there were among them—

"Old three legg'd grey beards, limping with the gout,
"Men full of rhumes, who'd lived past ages out!
"Time's offals, only fit for th' hospital!
"Or to hang antiquarians rooms withal!
"Drunkards and lechers, spent with sin, who live
"With such poor helps as broths and physics give."

But when this boy of fourteen talked of having assisted at "*la retraite,*" I was quite puzzled, and, on demanding an explanation, I found that it was

that of Louis XVIII. *from Paris to Ghent!* This was the military exploit to which all the ancient warriors around me had referred in their rapid conversation, keeping my poor thoughts galloping backward and forward, from Portugal and Massena, to Xenophon and Asia Minor, but without getting any thing to *fit*, till my young friend explained the enigma; and I was initiated into the glorious episodes of that brilliant event which won for Louis XVIII. not his *spurs*, for he must have had them *on*, but the celebrated cognomen of the "*Voltigeur.*" Now these same warriors and their "*order*" are equally experienced and scientific in *war*, *politics*, and *farming*, loving "*la retraite*," *Charles X.* and *large farms*—perhaps the Monsieur de Bonald referred to in "England and America," as the advocate for large landed proprietors, is a Carlist, and has *assisted* at "*la retraite!*" however, I know nothing of Monsieur de Bonald, but I know well that his assertion is denied by the Normans. Now let us quit authorities, and examine the question between large and small farms analytically. In a great farm there is *no combination of labour*, but there is a *division of labour*, for both time and materials are lost. Every hired labourer, whilst idly lolling on his spade, is dividing his labour; he does as little work for as much money as he possibly can; he loses as much time as he possibly can; and he destroys and wastes as much material as his temper and careless habits may render it agreeable to him to destroy and waste. No overseeing can prevent all this. I do not say *all do this*, but they may do it, and when we contemplate the low rate of wages they generally receive, it is very natural that they *should* do

it; and I am very sure that in some degree, *nearly all* do. Here, then, we have the *division of labour*, the cutting up of labour into *small portions;* and no greater proof is required than the well known fact, that men who are set to task work, do much more than by day labour, because they then work for themselves—they work to sell their labour for an *increased price*, or, which is the same thing, they are paid the hire of a day's labour for a *task* that they are able to execute in five or six hours, the remainder of the day becoming their own. "*Then*," answer my opponents, "*give task work, and large farms are unobjectionable.*" Not so, good sir. 1st, There are many *other* objections to hired labourers. 2d, Task work will not answer for *all* the operations of agriculture. 3d, Task work contains a strong principle of the division of labour, because the labourer gives his *strength* to do it *quick*, but not his *mind* to do it *well*. And this imperfect performance is the result of *division;* the labourer's *hand* is applied to his work, but not his *will*, and when these are not united, there is not *combination* but *division* of labour.* Let us take the hired labourer John Clod,

* The author of "England and America" has justly found fault with this expression as commonly used—(see page 20, vol i.) The *division of work* may be, and is, the *combination of labour*—that is to say, that by having one particular operation to execute, the workman does it more expertly, and with less *loss of time*, than if he has to lay down one set of tools and take up another, change the current of his thoughts from one operation to that of another, and so on—all this, in the complicated and rapid operations of a manufactory, is of great importance, and therefore *arrangement* of the work among many, draws from each, the greatest exertion of labour, the greatest degree of *combination* in strength, dexterity, and thought, and the greatest quantity of produce is obtained, and, therefore, the greatest fortune made for

to whom Farmer Big pays the lowest wages, and receives naturally the least portion of work that John can give, who, also, wastes time and material by his indifference to the interest of a man who shows no pity for him. It may be, that he daily takes a few potatoes home in his pocket, and so forth; those *who are at their ease* call this *stealing*, but John reconciles it to *his* conscience, (after a hard struggle), by the pinchings of hunger, by some passages of the Bible, and by human nature, which tells him that starvation never *was*, never *will be*, never *ought to be*, and never *can be* borne. Suppose, that this same John Clod had twenty acres of *his own*, or of which he has *a good lease*, instead of being a day labourer on Farmer Big's large farm of a thousand acres. Does the said John Clod *now* lose *time*, or *labour*, or material, or compromise with his conscience in a struggle with hunger? No—he loses *nothing*, unless, perhaps, sometimes a little sleep, and some deep potations at a public-house, in his eager desire to make the most of his little farm, this desire makes him give up drinking and urges him to extra exertion, making him rise at four o'clock in the morning; cheerful and full of hope, instead of creeping in sulky discontent to Farmer Big's farm at six—all is *labour* and *thrift*—even his pleasure consists in

the person who possesses the manufactory. And IF overgrown fortunes, and starving workmen, form the "wealth of a nation," this arrangement of labour is well suited to produce them. The same *general principle* of arrangement of labour exists in agriculture, but its *application* is quite different, because the *object* is different: it is not the concentration of riches, health, and comforts in the *few*, that should be sought for, but the dispersion of them among the *many*—manufactories and large farms do the first—small farms do the last.

watching his farm, and in its increase of production—the very dung which falls on the public road he picks up—he watches his cabbages growing—he waters them—he manures them—he weeds them—he digs deep before he plants them—he tries experiments—he studies their health—their nature—their whole progress day by day, nay, hour by hour, from the moment he plants them, till he eats or sells them; he does both with a pride, a pleasure, which he can take in no other man's cabbages; and this pleasure is his reward; it gives him health and content: but he will not do all this for Farmer Big's cabbages, nor can Farmer Big do it himself: they are too numerous, and his general concerns too large—he has to buy his port—his claret—go to the club—hunt—and has a variety of necessary avocations to attend to besides his cabbages. Here then we have *combination* of mind, and of labour, and of experience, concentrated into the small space of twenty acres, by John Clod, while Farmer Big's equal talents and industry are dispersed over a thousand acres, and applied to other matters. "*Oh! but he has four labourers besides*," says the advocate for great farms. Yes, sir, he has, but he has not *half their exertions*, he has *all* the loss produced by their waste—by their *idleness*—suffers if they are dishonest—has *all* their hate for his low wages—in fine, has none of their *good will*, and as little of their *work* as they can bestow. The result is, that John Clod's cabbages are bigger and better, and more in quantity, on an equal space of ground, than Farmer Big's are; and Clod, and his whole family, apply their knowledge, and talents, to the cultivation of their own cabbages, instead of applying the same industry to stealing Farmer Big's cabbages to save themselves

from starvation! Thus we easily account for Minheer Lichtervelde's assertion, that all improvements in Belgian farming have been made by small farmers. So I fire off my ponderous MINHEER LICHTERVELDE, the big-bellied Belgian, against my opponent's "*petit Monsieur de Bonald,*" the herring-gutted Frenchman! and Minheer carries weight both physical, and moral; for farming is better understood in Belgium, than in France, which last country has, however, improved in its knowledge of agriculture since the revolution; that is to say, since it became broken up into *small farms;* but (to leave Belgian and French authorities) no one can deny, that the man with twenty acres will observe the operations of nature more closely, and consequently more accurately, than he who has a thousand, and is obliged to use other men's eyes; that the man of 20 acres will have the assistance of his family, and he will work harder for himself than the labourer hired by the farmer of 1000 acres, whose family do not work at all. "*Oh! but Mr. Coke of Norfolk had large farms, and did wonders.*" Very likely, Sir. Now, let us suppose Mr. Coke of Norfolk was a *polypus;* cut him into as many pieces as his estates could be divided into, of 20 acres each; stick a bit of him upon every small farm of 20 acres, so that each bit should become a perfect "*Coke of Norfolk*" on each farm, and see whether all these *little* Cokes would not do much more with the land than the one *great* Coke did? The fact is, that this gentleman has a talent for farming; and it is Mr. Coke's *personal abilities, not* the *size of his farms,* that produces the wonders.

The author of "England and America" says, in page 24: "*The English farm labourer is a miserable*

wretch ;" of this no man doubts: he is not so miserable as an Irish labourer—but he is miserable—yes —very—"*because,*" says our author, "*because he obtains but a very small share of the produce of his labour: but this is a question not of distribution, but of production.*" But if the *distribution* be such as to make the *production* greater, and to give it all (except the rent) into the poor man's own hands: if it makes him the *owner* of what his labour produces; if such be the effect of "*distribution,*" that instead of "*a very small share*" given to him in the shape of daily and uncertain wages, the poor man should receive all the produce except the rent; and instead of *buying from, sells to,* the rich man, I ask my adversary, and all the world besides, if this is not essentially "*a question of distribution*" with a witness? the questions are inseparable: whoever possesses the *production,* (by virtue of the *distribution* of the land, in the hands of a few or of many) will give his neighbour the very smallest share of such production that he can, and this is one of the exceptions to that excellent rule of "*doing as you would be done by ;*" which exception Mr. Cobbett's "*Bull-frog farmers*" take especial care to adhere to most strictly! Thus we see, that when the *few* have *large farms* the *many* come off badly, and when the *many* have *small* farms the *few* come off badly.

There is, however, another view of the subject, which places the evil of large farms in a still more prominent light. The large farmer is a middle man, between the great land *proprietor* and the *spadesman,* and he robs *both.* He lives in considerable luxury, upon his gains, which he screws out of both labourer and proprietor, giving the lowest possible wages to the one and the lowest possible rent

to the other. If the Duke of Devonshire, for example, lets to farmer Middleman a farm of 1000 acres for 1000*l.* a-year, the said farmer clears 1000*l.* per annum, keeps his hunter: his fat fubsy wife wears a silk gown, and a "*bustle*" on her hind quarters, like *Pelion heaped upon Ossa.* Travelled *Miss* has been to Paris—squalls "*tanti palpiti*"—and lards her English with French words to "bother the vulgar" and every body else. Young *Master* drives a stanhope, his seal-skin cap hangs, pendulous, over his right ear, and a cigar is stuck in his mouth. They dine at 8 o'clock, drink claret, and all this "*national wealth*" comes out of the 1000*l.* a-year, which is the remuneration for his skill and time in managing the farm, and for his capital invested. But let us divide the 1000 acres among the day labourers who worked the great farm, giving to each 20 acres on a long lease; thereby securing to these poor men *constant profitable* work; for what is the poor man's fate who is not sure of *constant* work? yet such is the hired labourer's destiny, that he may lose work by the invention of machinery, or from the pique of his employer, who may take offence at some hasty expression. The constant fear of this makes the hired labourer a slave and, it may be, a rogue, and starves him besides. But now we have divided the 1000 acres, the poor man is no longer a hireling, but a small farmer; and it is quite clear, that the 1000*l.* which gave farmer Middleman the gout—fatted Mrs. Middleman—made the farm ring with "*tanti palpiti*"—and supplied young *cap-o'-one-side* with cigars, would be divided among fifty hard working sturdy spadesmen, whose support and comforts would never cease. Thus, *in addition* to the wages they formerly received as day labourers, each

would have 20*l.* a-year (that is to say, his share of the 1000*l.*) for managing his own portion of the great farm. These fifty men (and their families) would *not* drink claret—they would *not* sing "*tanti palpiti*"—they would *not* have hysterics—they would *not* have cigars (they might smoke a pipe) but they *would have* plenty of food and beer, (if the malt tax be repealed;) they *would have* a gradual increase of comforts; they *would have* constant occupation for themselves and their children, they would, one and all, scorn the thoughts of parish assistance; which they would consider as the right of the poor and miserable, and, not being either, they would consider any such assistance to be a degradation, revolting to their honest pride. The son would not marry a woman that he could not support, and the daughter would not marry a dissolute man. "*No one*," as Mons. de Sismondi says, "*voluntarily descends from their condition.*" The small farmer, the English yeoman, bestows, but does not ask, alms.

The poor day labourer, uncertain of work, cannot afford to put his child to school; if in harvest time he saves a few shillings, he puts them by, to support his family in winter; his children idle while the father works, if he *have* work; or help him to poach if he *have not* work; thus they grow up ignorant from necessity, and idle from habit, and perhaps end, if they are males, by becoming thieves; if girls, by becoming prostitutes; and our wise men taunt them with being DEMORALIZED forsooth! Yes, they are "*demoralized*," which will always happen when people starve. Even the law admits starving to be an excuse for theft. Starving makes men eat each other! in short, what will it not make men and women do?

How different is the life of a small farmer's child! The *farm is a school*, and a noble school too, where he learns industry from HABIT: he grows up honest, because he is not driven to dishonesty by early and biting want; and he is proud and independent because he is honest: it is true, he may not have read the "*Penny Magazine*," and may never know the history of the Grand Chartreuse, or the Vatican, and other most pleasant histories, of deep import, no doubt, to English working men, but, to make up for this misfortune, he will know, *right well*, how to manage a farm. The poor hired labourer sees his half-starved infant steal; he wishes it were otherwise, though he dare not correct it: *who* dares chastise a beloved and starving child? But the small farmer's son, who was guilty of such an action, would tremble in the presence of his indignant family.

It is now time to examine how farmer Middleman robs his landlord, having, as I think, shewn how he robs the labourer.* I have said, and in a little periodical work published by the Labourer's Friend Society, it is proved; by reference to Lichtervelde it is proved; by reference to all and every one that has seen it tried, it has been proved; that spade husbandry, and small farms, give, comparatively, a *greater produce* than large farms; because there is not, as I have before said, any waste of time, of knowledge, of labour, of money, of land, of tools. By the farm being worked by one pair of hands, all these are economized, improved, "*combined*," and the result of this "*distribution*," (as the author of "England and America" terms it,) is increased produce. Now if

* I speak of large farmers as a *class*, when I say they are injurious. But, as individuals, I am sure there are among them, *many* talented, and excellent, men.

the produce of land increases, so will the rent or landlord's share; and, consequently, the large farmer, who produces less than the small farmer, (from the same space of ground) robs the landlord. No one will dispute that the tenant, who drinks small-beer and has a large crop to sell, can pay better rent than he who drinks claret, and has a small crop to sell. The large farmer is, therefore, a perfect pest and nuisance to the country, and ought to be rubbed out of society altogether: and if all great landed proprietors would divide their ground into farms of twenty acres each, they would be again surrounded by a bold race of yeomen; fierce and hardy for war; honest and industrious in peace. By such a division of land, labour would be really "*combined,*" and the rents better paid, and higher too, in amount; but the *pianoforte* and *cap-o'-one-side* must give place to the *wash-tub* and *smock-frocks*, while "*tanti palpiti*" would be supplanted by the far more entertaining and popular ditty of "*High diddle diddle the cat and the fiddle.*" Then we should see the great English proprietor at the head of a numerous tenantry of some 1000 or 2000 sturdy followers, no longer his deadly enemies, as the hired labourers now are; but his friends, and the friends of his family; such men would be cautious in making matrimonial alliances, and, as Sismondi most justly observes, this is the true way to check the increase of population, and, he might have added, poor's rates; for who would be upon the parish, unless it were the gouty big farmer's wife Fubsy, Squalina, and Cap-o'-one-side? I have not the least idea what the extent of the Duke of Devonshire's estates may be; but suppose them divided into 5,000 small farms—he would then be at the

head of, perhaps, ten or twelve thousand staunch men (including fathers and sons) devoted retainers, with whom to stand by the state in times of trouble; but what troubles could *then* arise? Talk of democratic principles indeed! I should like to see what progress such principles could make among a nation of *well-fed*, industrious, small farmers? There would be no danger of *that*, at all events. There might be some danger that such men would not bestir themselves sufficiently to enforce the reforms that are so necessary, in some of the departments of state: that they might not take the part of an individual oppressed by some great man; there might be some danger that such things would take place. But in these days when the *sovereignty of the press* seems to have superseded all others, such apathy is not the fashion. I think I hear some advocate for large farms say, "*This is all theory.*" Good sir, I pray you look at France? What are the National Guards but a vast body of armed yeomen, of *small* farmers and *small* tradesmen? Who put down the republicans at Paris a few months ago? At Caen, the republicans applied to the National Guards to know how they, the National Guards, would act in case of a rising: "*We will fire upon the republicans,*" was the answer! I do not understand much of French politics or parties, but I do say, that the National Guards are *not republicans* in Normandy, and it was understood that their feelings were not singular. A hundred times I have heard it said at Caen, (which I admit to be the only part of France I know any thing about,) "We will not allow of disturbances, we "have small properties to lose, we are at our ease, "and we will allow of no change. The republi-

" cans are those who have nothing to lose, and " they shall not take what we have." There are 1,500,000 of these men—all armed and drilled; they will bear *much*, too much, encroachment from those above them, but *nothing* from those below them. Had the people in France been poor " *miserable wretches*," like the hired English labourers, so strongly described in " *England and America*,"* (page 48) would they have acted as they did at Paris? Assuredly not: one cry would have resounded from all parts, " *we may be better, we cannot be worse*," which is exactly what happens in Ireland.

But in England, a body of small farmers, or yeomen, would have a far easier game to play than that of the National Guards in France, where *four* parties exist, to wit, the Napoleonists, the Carlists, the Philippists, and the Republicans, each of which justly reproaches the other three with being changeable and traitorous. There is then, always a *choice* for the National Guard to make. In England there is *none;* the road is broad and straight. An old established limited monarchy, under which we have for ages lived, and under which we have flourished,

* The description I refer to is given as a quotation from a pamphlet. I suspect it to have been written by the author of " England and America" himself. It is exceedingly beautiful; how any man could read it and advocate large farms, I cannot conceive. The whole of the second note is excellent, and induces me to believe, that if the author turns his attention to the subject of large and small farms, he will see in the former the key to, at least, *half* the misery he so well describes. Not to *all*. I do not want to make small farms a panacea, and cure broken bones like Morison's pills, but I do think it the best chance of preventing bones being broken.

leaves no choice, no hesitation; we want no *change*; all that is asked for, is to clean and purify, not to *change* the constitution. The general feeling in England is *not* republican; but it must be admitted that starving workmen are very likely to *become* republicans and levellers; or any thing that will give them food: and famished men grow bloodthirsty and ferocious; men suffer long ere they rise, but when they do rise, they rise to vengeance; and I firmly believe, that one of the best modes of preventing this want of food, and the horrors which it may and undoubtedly *will* produce in England, is to break up large estates into small ones, and create a yeomanry; increase the produce of the land, and reduce your poors' rates; for *then* the poor man will not require parish assistance, he will have his fair share of the soil; he will be happy; and if happy he will stand by that order of things which makes him happy. The admirable allotment system is an approach to the small farm system; it does great good; but it is too limited to do all that the fearful state of things requires. As an accompaniment to small farms it is excellent, for there will always be hired labour to a certain extent; and the hired labourer must have a garden and a cow.

There must always be hired labour, because the small farmers' sons will work for hire, though they will not wear a fool's cap and gold tassel over their ear; and his daughters, though they may not be able to play the piano-forte, will go to service, still having the *respectability of their parents* before their eyes, and deeply implanted in their hearts, brought up to make it their pride, their vaunt, their glory! The son of a yeoman will not labour for wages that are too low, nor will he burden his family by stand-

ing out for wages that are unreasonably high. There will, also, be plenty of competition, not among starving "*miserable wretches,*" but among honest and reasonable men; and *who*, let me ask, would be the employers of these men? their father's friend and landlord, on whose estate he and they have been born and bred, and who, nine times in ten, would much rather *serve* them than *injure* them; who rarely is ungenerous or harsh, and does not wish to squeeze the labourer, like farmer Middleman, who would rather ape the vices of the great, than their liberality; indeed he cannot easily do both. To enable him to drink wine and keep hunters, the labourer *must* be squeezed. The great man perhaps squeezes the labourer by robbing the treasury: but the poor fellow don't *know* this, and is not irritated by it, as he is against the farmer who cuts down his wages.

I am surprised to see such an acute writer as the author of "England and America" so blinded by the theory which he maintains in favour of large farms, as not to perceive that he is inconsistent with himself: for in page 24, he says, "*the English "farm labourer is a miserable wretch,* BECAUSE *he "obtains but a very small share of the produce of his "labour.*" In page 29, he says, "*recurring to the "agriculture of England, the large farms of that "country exemplify the proverb, 'union is force.'*" "*Aye,*" writes a friend of mine on the margin, "and "'*what is one man's meat is another man's poison,*' "is another proverb that it exemplifies." To be sure it does; it is the fat large farmer that makes the thin starved labourer—the "*miserable "wretch.*" The next sentence, (page 29) puzzles me:—"The most scientific of English farmers, if

" he were to apply his knowledge to the cultivation " of a single field, would not raise a much greater " produce than the most ignorant of Irish cottiers." Pray, Sir, what is a large farm but an assemblage of " *single fields,*" to each of which, in detail, he applies his knowledge? Your assertion surely carries its own refutation with it! If you will look at the various accounts of the allotment system, you will find, that the small portions of land given to poor men, produce *more* than an equal space in large farms. And are you not aware, that nearly all experiments in agriculture are made in *small plots of ground;* in *flower-pots;* even in *glass tumblers?* You say, that the great farmer's superiority is in the art of cultivating upon a great scale; and for the practice of this art, *capital* and *labour* in proportion to *land,* are indispensible. Yes; and so is the misery you describe, as being the portion of the great farmer's hired labourer (page 24). You then give us a note from Mr. M'Culloch, in which the Professor says, that " French agriculture is 100 years behind ours; that *two-thirds* of the French people are employed in *bad* agriculture, while *one-third* of the English people suffice to carry on our *good* agriculture; and that in this our great superiority in domestic economy consists." Now, Sir, what does this prove? Why, that two-thirds of the French are well fed, and that two-thirds of the English starve! You assert, and with truth, that our labourers are " *miserable wretches;*" I assert, and no man knowing any thing of France will deny the assertion, that the French *agricultural* labourer is very well fed, and clothed, and lodged, and that generally he is very happy. I lived a year in France, I saw no beggars except old people and cripples; in

Normandy I was never, in a single instance, asked for charity by a man or woman who was able to work; I have conversed with the labourers; they all told me they lived comfortably; they are extremely honest; every where you see linen hung out to dry on the hedges along the high road: no one thinks of stealing: you never hear of a robbery. I came to England, and from the hour I landed to the present moment, a period of three weeks, I have not quitted my house once without being accosted by several able-bodied beggars, with their starving children; and as to leaving any thing out of doors in safety, it is impossible! Why, locks and bolts fail in preserving what you have within! To live in England is to live in one constant state of suffering: In France, a man *enjoys* his comforts, because he sees every one else at their ease; in England he *cannot*. Who can button up his warm great coat, on a cold day, with any comfort, when he sees a dozen half-naked women and children shivering and half-starving? or an honest, industrious, powerful, man that cannot get work? This horrid sight he is sure to see in England; he is sure *not* to see it in France. Is this, let me ask Mr. M'Culloch, a proof of the "*great superiority of our domestic economy over that of France?*" What does this prove? Why; that in despite of bad farming, the French are well fed, and happy, with their *small* farms, while the English, though possessing great agricultural skill, are starving and miserable with their *large* farms. In short, whether in France, Belgium, or Tuscany, wherever we see *small* farms, united to skill in agriculture, the poor man is happy and honest. Wherever we see large farms, the poor man is miserable: and yet the author of "England and America," where he recapitulates all the remedies

offered for our distress (page 46), omits to mention small farms, which are among the most efficacious! He quotes Paul Louis Courrier: he will find nothing in that extraordinary man's writings that advocates large farms. I will say more: the whole of his *own book* is one constant argument in favour of small farms, and small fortunes, in preference to great ones; and yet he strangely wants to combine, and combine, and combine heaven knows what, to create large farms! How is it possible for a man of his talents to avoid seeing, that what is called by the false and stupid expression, "*national wealth*," is nothing more than the accumulation of great fortunes? great heaps of money in a few hands; and that the greater these heaps are, the poorer and more miserable the mass of the people must be; and the poorer and more miserable England must be; and that it is the *well-fed labourer* that forms "*national wealth*," and not rich weavers, and stock-jobbers, and so forth, with their "*plumb*," who, like the upas tree, cast desolation around them! but even these would not be so mischievous if they would buy land, divide that land into small farms, creating five yeomen to every 100 acres, instead of hiring five labourers: in short, create five friends to themselves and their families, instead of five paupers who will, perhaps, rob and *burn them*, who will do worse: for the man who burns a barn will do any thing. And the cause, whatever it may be, which produces such an atrocious action, will produce greater atrocities when opportunities offer: the English labourers are a noble race of men, how dreadful, then, must be the sufferings and ill-treatment which provoke them to commit such crimes! There can be no greater proof of bad government than to see the poor hate

the rich, and defy the law. Men never hate that which is benevolent! I need hardly say, that in advocating small farms so strongly, I do not pretend that they would altogether cure the sufferings of the people of England; but I do say, that the immense quantity of suffering, and consequently of crime, that now exists, would be diminished, in an extraordinary degree, by the great landholders cutting up their large farms into small ones, and by an increase of the *allotment system*. The latter is a *pen-knife* applied to the root of the evil, the former is an *axe*.

What has been here said about small farms is not liable to the objections made by the advocates of the English law of primogeniture, against the French law of division. These two laws seem to be the Scylla and Charybdis of inheritance. Surely a law might be framed between them, and leaving the father of a family more free to dispose of his property as he pleased, trusting much to paternal affection for the division, and to common sense for preventing that division being pushed to an injurious extent; a law which would only interfere with accumulation and division when carried to extremes? The advocates for the law of primogeniture cannot object to the division of large estates into small farms because these are not subdivided among children, till the portions become too minute. The small farm always remains the same: the component part of the great estate. Great landed proprietors are of great use to society (when their estates are not overgrown): they form the great "hold fasts" of society: keep it steady: and ought to be the leaders of the people, not their enemies. But when the landowner creates a spurious aristocrat in farmer Middleman, his great estate becomes harm-

ful. This farmer is an oppressor, an inflicter of evil upon the poor man, who becomes his enemy, and mixing him up with the landlord, *hates both.* This is the more natural, as the farmer lays all his acts of oppression on the landlord and parson. "I must "pay my rent and tithes, John Clod, and can only "give you a shilling a-day:" but if John Clod, getting rid of farmer Middleman, pays both the *landlord* and *himself*; the case is altered: the produce is divided between *two* instead of *three* people. If the landlord creates a yeomanry, then he does good: the size of his estate, if moderate, only gives him a just and rational degree of influence; and the small farmers give him higher rents than the great farmers. The great landed proprietor does not starve and grind the people when he gives small farms; he *does* when he gives large ones: this cannot be too often repeated. The small farmer and landlord cannot have separate interests. The landlord, the big farmer, and the hired labourer, always have opposite interests. The author of "England and America" concludes the note I allude to, with the following sentence (page 41): "sober imaginations are confounded by "observing the very rapid progress which wealthy "and civilized England, is at this time making in "wealth and civilization." Yes; well they may be confounded; so you seem to be, sir, when you forget to add *starvation:* a blessed fruit, truly, for two such trees as *wealth* and *civilization* to bear! You must pardon me for making *such* a comparison, but really your last sentence reminds me of "*prosperity Robinson's*" famous speech, which much resembled that of the poor parrot seized by a hawk, and, as the latter rose high in air with his prey, Poll, delighted with his "*rapid progress*" and

"*prosperity*," cried out to his despairing mistress, "*fine riding, my lady! fine riding!*"

One word about agricultural machinery may be here admissible; it is closely connected with large and small farms. Where large farms exist, hired labour is of course the chief constant expense; to diminish this expense, machines are invented, and men thrown upon the labour market; which reduces wages. The machine, besides giving the double advantage to the great farmer of *cheapening wages* and *diminishing labour*; that is to say, doing the same work with *two* men, at *one* shilling a day, that he before did with *four* men, at *two* shillings a-day; also does his work as *well*, and in some cases, *better* than by hand: of course he *clings to machinery*; while the starving labourer curses it as his ruin: and even those who are not immediately thrown out of work by it, tremble lest some new machine should in time be invented to throw them, also, out of employment. All these men, therefore, combine *against machinery*: such is the natural effect of large farms—now let us look at the small farm. THERE the machine is welcome: THERE it enables one pair of hands to cultivate the 25 acres with *greater ease*; it multiplies the farmer's strength: it *then* throws no man out of work: it *then* increases the effect of labour: and every labouring man blesses the invention and honours the inventor. Under a system of small farms, we should never hear of "SWING." But then we are told of the "combination" of many pairs of hands: in answer, I ask, what operation is there in agriculture, that *one pair of hands* cannot perform? Farming does not consist of lifting great weights: one man and his family can plough, harrow, dig, load a cart,

make a hay-mow, do *any thing* required on a farm: he not only can, but always does, help his neighbours and he receives help from them in return, on any pinch, as in harvest time. They *then* combine, *really* combine: there is no slack work *then*, as with hired labourers: every stroke done for a neighbour is, virtually, done by the small farmer for himself; and, therefore, struck with a good and hearty will. The hired labourer rests on his pitchforks, cracks his joke, or ruminates on his hard fate; and in each of these devices to spare himself, he divides and cuts up labour, and, as it were, scatters it in unproductive driblets. This is not combination, it is any thing *but* combination. The overseer can make a labourer work, but he cannot tell whether he puts forth his full strength in working, nor can he prevent him from idling; task work is always the best *hired* work, as I think I have before said; but though task work is better than day work, it is far inferior to that of the man who works wholly for himself. Small farms, then, give a combination of the *greatest skill*, the *greatest attention*, and the *greatest labour*, as applied to land: and the result is, the *greatest produce*, the fairest chance of morality, health, and happiness. I need scarcely apologize to the reader for this long digression from my subject (if he is pleased to term it digression), because, when writers tell us that the great advantage of Colonies is to relieve our miseries and reduce our population; it becomes me, when I deny the assertion, that our population is too great; and deny that emigration can alleviate our national sufferings, though it relieves those of the immediate colonist; it becomes me, I say, to state my *reasons* for holding these opinions, and add my

humble endeavours to those of other men, who try to convince great landed proprietors that the fate of their country is, in a great measure, in *their* hands: that *they* can do, what no *Colonies* can do. In my eagerness to do this, I may possibly have been led too far. If so, I have only to apologize to the reader by asking, who can think of Australia, and forget England? But, while I thus apologize to him, I will trespass a little farther. He who robs a house in England, earns the gallows; by cutting the throats of the inhabitants he risks no additional danger; and so, in like manner, I may as well worry my impatient Australian a little longer.

I have said that the poor in great Britain and Ireland, have been driven to emigration by the misery which they *do*, but ought *not* to, suffer at home; and that this misery is the result, not only of large farms, but of *bad government*. I say so from conviction, but am not singular. From amongst the numerous proofs that I could produce in support of this assertion, I shall refer to Mr. Blacker's description of the misery in Ireland, together with the remedy he has found successful in practice; a remedy which has been frequently pointed out before; has been at all times applicable, and at all times neglected by the government, both Whig and Tory—I mean agricultural improvements. I will also draw one from a very high source. In Archbishop Whateley's letter to Lord Grey, on secondary punishments, (page 123,) he says, "As "a matter of *prudence*, it would be *advisable* "*to many thousand persons* in Ireland, and in "the south of England, to commit a crime which "would ensure them seven years transportation to "New South Wales. The expense of this voyage

" would be paid, even the short probationary " period of four years of servitude would be a " *vast improvement on their former state*, and then " would come the reward in the shape of a ticket " of leave, and free labour for the rest of their " lives." Now let me ask any rational being, not influenced by the strongest party prejudice, if this sentence is not *decisive*, as to the character of our past government for the last thirty or forty years? Without pretending to have the least admiration for the Whigs, but diametrically the contrary, fairness demands that it should be said, they are not the *creators* of the evils which the empire groans under. It was not the present Whigs who have brought the English and Irish labourers to such a state of wretchedness, that it becomes an act of *prudence* to commit crime, in order that they may incur the next severe punishment, to death, rather than suffer the more painful infliction of living in their native country; that country which was, once upon a time, called " *merry England!*" No, it was not the present Whigs that did all this, they only confirmed this state, and added the *Irish* " *Coercion bill*," lest Ireland's cup of misery should not be full.

" The fiend receive their souls therefore,"

quoth the moss-trooper.

The paragraph in His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's letter, to which I allude, speaks volumes. It is true his Grace is endeavouring to prove that transportation is not a proper mode of punishment: he may be quite right: indeed, I cannot conceive that any man who reads his two letters to Lord Grey can have much doubt left on his mind, if any before existed in favour of this. But

the poor fellow who is driven by suffering and despair to commit a crime "*as a matter of prudence*," for the express purpose of being transported, is not a hardened criminal; but an unhappy *victim of bad government*, and to such a man, transportation is, truly, a dreadful alternative, though a matter of prudence, as the prelate justly avers. Indeed the very accounts which the Archbishop of Dublin gives, of convicts turning out well, is, in itself, no small subject for deep reflection: and the result of such reflection must be, that these unfortunate men were, naturally, social and right-feeling beings, and that their fall has been the result of great misery, produced by *bad government*. A degree of misery on one hand, and of temptation on the other, which probably few of us would have withstood. But let me not be mistaken; it is very far from my intention to inculcate that laws are to be broken with impunity, because human nature is frail, and that the English and Irish labourers are unfortunate. Legal punishment ought to follow crime, as certainly as the night follows the day. But I must be allowed to say that a prelate, who writes with such force of argument, ought not to discharge the vial of his wrath upon the *convicted* felon alone; a mind like his, a profession like his, and a dignity like his, ought, I think, to probe more deeply; and, while he justly censures that mischievous pity, which he asserts to exist for criminals, and which, when we hear of judges passing sentence in tears upon a Thurtle and a Fauntleroy, we must admit to be the case,* he

* I can hardly believe this to have been the case. Our judges are made of "sterner stuff."

ought boldly to trace the *causes* which produce such an unnatural feeling in the breasts of men; and it *is* unnatural for the punishment of criminals to excite the public compassion in a civilized state, except under extraordinary circumstances. The prelate's letter is charged with severity against criminals, and against those who pity criminals, and he seems conscious of being rather harsh. I think he is harsh; because he falls upon the poor, uneducated, suffering, tempted wretch, (who, by his grace's own account, acts rather from *prudence* than *moral turpitude*), and there stops his investigation, and his severities of expression; without one single word expressive of his disapprobation, or his disgust at the system of government whose misrule has made it "*prudent*" and "*advisable*" to break the law, and produce this vast body of crime: a body of crime which seems ready to overwhelm society: indeed, the foreground of a picture of England now, would consist of two bloody giants, *Crime* and *Law*, exhibited in dreadful contest; while all else seems cast, undefined, into the mists of the distance. This is terrible, and springs from a deeper cause than ill arranged, and ill executed punishments, whether of a primary, or secondary nature; for the English and Irish are not a bad, but a good race of people, kind-hearted, and industrious, brave and social. It is then *bad government* which has produced this state of things. The people feel this to be the case, and, *therefore*, they pity criminals as being more weak than wicked, "*more sinned against than sinning.*"

Let us take the Archbishop's own words, to shew how he avoids this subject; the only fault that can be found in his otherwise excellent letters; I say

" fault," (his Grace will, I hope, pardon the expression) because I think it so, to imagine, that crime can be diminished by *any* arrangements of secondary punishments, when peculiar causes of crime continue, and are left unremoved by government, and unexposed by such a writer. The defective nature of man is a cause of crime which government *cannot* remove, but misery is a *peculiar* cause of crime which government *can* remove, and which a writer, like the Archbishop, ought to enlarge upon. The passage I refer to is this; the Archbishop gives an extract from the report made by a Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of secondary punishments, which Committee, he says, seems to have known little of, and done less in, the business they were assembled to discuss, (I believe this is the usual practice of Parliamentary Committees!) The extract given by his Lordship, from the report is as follows, (p. 125):—" *Q.* Are " there many instances of prisoners not dreading " transportation? Not many; we had an instance " on receiving the prisoners after the last Old " Bailey Sessions, of a man, sentenced to imprison- " ment for one month, endeavouring to be trans- " ported for seven years, by exchanging clothes " with a man who was sentenced to be transported. " They exchanged clothes; the man who was sen- " tenced to be transported answered to the name " of the man that was to be imprisoned; but he " had hardly come into our prison, before it was " discovered at Newgate. I questioned this man " as to his motive for wishing to be transported; " and his answer was this, that he had not been in " prison before for nine years, that he had endea- " voured to support himself by labour as a brick-

" layer, that his *work* had *altogether failed him*, " and that he wished to have a *chance in another* " *country* which he had *not in this.*" Upon this his Grace makes the following observation. " It is " clear that this person considered transportation " merely in the light of emigration: if he was " willing to forego the advantages of living in his " native country among his friends and relations, " there was no *further* punishment worthy of no- " tice." Here we see the prelate's thoughts so fixed upon punishment, that although this unhappy man says, *work had altogether failed him,* his Grace observes, that if he was willing to forego the *advantages of living in his native country among his friends and relations,*" &c. *Living! advantages!* Good heavens! *what* life, *what* advantages, was a *working* man to enjoy, when *work had altogether failed?* what, but cruel sufferings, and utter wretchedness of body and mind? For nine years this unhappy man struggled with adversity: at last, temptation became too strong, and he committed a small offence, punishable by a month's imprisonment. Conscious of the hopelessness of industry, he sought " *a chance*" in another country which his own *refused him!* I ask any man, I ask the Archbishop himself, did not this shew that his Lordship was thinking more of the punishment than of the cause of the crime? *Thoughts on secondary punishments* should, surely, embrace the causes of crime, especially when those causes are of a peculiar nature, demanding the clearest investigation, and producing a fearful result. And while these " *thoughts*" tell us how offences should be treated, they ought to expose their causes, and the way to *remove* those causes, in however summary a mode

such exposition might be given; and the Archbishop should chastise, with all the force of his strong mind, and high station, those who have so *foully treated the people.* His not having so done; his not having, distinctly, stated that he traces increase of crime to bad government, which makes the poor wretched, and that consequently good government is more effectual, for the prevention of crime, than *any* punishment; his not having so done, I may be permitted to call *faulty;* because he either holds this to be the case, or he does not. If he *does* hold this to be the case, he has left his work unfinished, and deficient in the most important part. If he does *not,* he should have disproved that, which so many people believe to be the case, as to produce that compassion for criminals which he, in the abstract, justly reprobates. I may draw down his Grace's displeasure by what I have said, and feel conscious that I am only a pigmy in his hands, but when David slew Goliah, he gave great encouragement to little men!*

I now come to the second reason given for forming this colony, namely—"*That it will prove to be a market for our over production*"—that is to say, that it will increase our commerce. There is no occasion to say much on this question. We know that the more people there are who trade with us, the better for commerce; and if men and women, are sent to any part of the world, however desert, they will, in the course of years, cause trade with us, and this will take place

* The reader will see that I am rather afraid of the Archbishop, if his Grace condescends to notice me at all! However, I trust that should his *pen* incline to strike me down, his *crozier* will, like the golden sceptre of Ahazuerus, be raised in mercy over the offender. But "*If I perish, I perish!*"

sooner or later, as they flourish more or less; but commerce, or no commerce, it is glorious to people a new continent, and spread the language, and renown of England in distant regions.

Thirdly, *This colony*, it is said, *will enlarge the field for employing capital.* Yes, it may do so; and will, if the labourers remain in the colony, instead of going to Sydney, and Van Diemen's land. Matters have come to such a pass in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that capitalists begin to tremble for their property, and willingly seek safer countries. Timid and quiet people, see, with terror, that we approach those times when, again, the couplet of former days will be repeated by many :—

> "When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
> "Where was then the gentleman?"

Adam never delved, nor did Eve ever spin, "seeing as how" that *he* had no spade, and *she* no spinning wheel!—now if we all become Adams and Eves (who, as I have said, did neither dig nor spin) eating crab apples, instead of bread, and wearing fig leaf breeches and petticoats (which in an English winter would be chilly) it is perfectly certain, that all would be, like our first parents, gentlemen and ladies. How far our English fruit would go to feed twenty millions of mouths I know not; crab-apples and cholera would probably be "*all the go!*" but in despite of this charming equality there are some perverse tastes amongst our capitalists, who prefer beef and mutton, and who are inclined to fear that there might be some confusion, and throat cutting (to say nothing of gripes) in so fruitful, or crabbed, or choleric a system, call it what you please; and to avoid which they are certainly prepared to go to any country, where

they may enjoy their beef and mutton in peace and prosperity. The ingenious device of making sale of land purchase labour, bids fair to render Australia an attractive spot for such people. Ireland would be a *far* better speculation; but people will not venture to go there; they believe it to be the focus of the danger which they wish to avoid. To be sure there is Canada—but Canada is cold, and full of agues! one's fingers and toes keep continually dropping off during winter, and nothing is so common as to pull off your nose in blowing it: the sight of a pocket-handkerchief puts a Canadian in a sweat with fear—it is the only thing that ever does put him in a sweat! Indeed, it is said, that musick and dancing masters, lose half their scholars after a hard frost, and that our northern friends there will shortly be reduced to scratch themselves by machinery!

Who, after learning these things, and having the least regard for his digital ornaments, will go to Canada? Yet Canada was preferable to the society of convicts at Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land. But now that a Colony is to be formed in the most healthy and delightful climate in the world; that is to say, in Southern Australia; with no longer a voyage than that to India, in point of time; there can be but little doubt that many of these timid people will at once go to Australia, where, instead of snivelling through the ruins of their noses in a Canadian winter, all, and more than all, the luxuries to which they have been accustomed in England, await them; a life of interesting and profitable occupation; where *poverty*, it may be said, will not appear for some centuries. The planting of this Colony will be the foundation of a great nation; and the settlers be the

founders of potent families. The timid and the enterprizing capitalist will, probably, both seek this country, where their incomes (if what we are told of the interest on money be *true*) may at once *double*, and where a tax gatherer will be as rare an animal as a kangaroo is in England. The advantages will be great, but I repeat it, they will depend upon *three* things, which though considered *probable*, are not *certain* of taking place. 1. That the sale of land shall produce a sufficient number of labourers. 2. That those labourers remain in the Colony. 3. That a market may be speedily found for the produce. On these three points the whole affair hinges; and my readers must judge for themselves.

The *fourth* reason for forming this Colony is, That *it will be a model by which to correct our system of colonial government.*

This I consider to be the most important reason of all. We know how bad our present system is, from one end to the other. I, by no means, allude to individuals, but on the contrary, am aware that a governor of extraordinary talents (like Sir John Colbourn in Canada, for example) may do much good by the force of personal character, and in *despite* of the system which I denounce. It is truly an abuse of the term to call it a "*system:*" it is a mass of knavery and blundering made up, like any other piece of moral patchwork, sometimes with the most dishonest, and sometimes with the most honest intentions: but a spirit of jobbing has been its life and soul. For my part, I do not believe that any *one* man *can* execute the duties of colonial secretary, as the office is at present constituted: Methuselah, if he were gifted with the wisdom of Solomon, could not make himself master of the conflicting and various interests of

about *forty kingdoms*, some in the east, some in the west; some north, some south; *not one* of which, it is probable, he has ever seen, and in *every one* of which exists a host of self-interested, but clever men, all determined to deceive him; and using, skilfully, all their advantages and local knowledge, for that purpose. But stop: I was going to say, here was work for forty men, at least, when I recollected that in pounding up *Methuselah* and *Solomon*, to make a colonial secretary, I must add *Job!* Yes; we must have JOB to enable our Utopian colonial secretary to listen to speeches in parliament, whose members possess all the perseverance, and doubtless in embryo, the eloquence of Demosthenes; but they make two mistakes: they forget to put *pebbles* in their mouths, and they speak in "*the House*" instead of on the *sea shore;* with these two classic corrections, they would, in time, probably rival the Greek orator, to the great advantage of the public, and, (in the meanwhile,) great relief of his Majesty's ministers.* I think I see Lord *****, "*par*

* An Irishman (Sir Boyle Roche, I believe) once proposed that members of parliament should *vote first and speak afterwards.* This was then ridiculed as an amusing *blunder.* However, the days of admiration for parliamentary speech-making are now passing away, and though the parliamentary speech-maker is *seldom* discovered to be a statesman—he is *always* a most egregious pest to the country, to his audience, and to ministers; the last requiring sleep as well as the opposition. Now when the members of the House of Commons finish their oratory for the night, the opposition members have only the sleeping business to transact, whereas the ministers have also the business of their offices to perform before the "palaver" begins again, before the hour of "oh! oh! oh!" and "cock-a-doodle do!" In short, the ministers *must* speak, they must *answer* attacks, they *must sleep*, and, consequently, cannot properly do the business of their office, which must therefore remain undone, unless

example," with a large flint in his mouth, "*going the whole hog*" on Dover Beach, while some friend

a seat on the treasury bench gives a man physical strength. These are constant facts; there may be accidental difficulties besides. A minister may have *boils* which discommode him on taking his seat in the Commons house, a whimsical wife to discommode him in his own house, and fifty other diseases to which ministers are liable as well as other men, whether such ministers are Whigs or Tories. Only think of a poor old gentleman-like Tory, with a crazy carcase, and afflicted with boils, coming home from making a bad speech, all be oh!-d, and be-cock-crowed, and be-laughed at—he gets into bed about six o'clock in the morning to his young shrew of a wife; after a miserable attempt to sleep, he gets up to breakfast, and finds "Kate" bilious at being disturbed out of her sleep by his "hot breath and his cold feet." She gives him a taste of her temper, as he in misery picks out the softest chair, and gradually comes to an anchor, doubtful whether patriots or boils are the most troublesome, and wishing his wife would run away with Joseph Hume. Half dead, the poor man goes to his office, where the sight of "*red tape and green ferret*" chirps him up. He reads papers, looks very pompous, understands very little, and goes home to dinner. Then to "the House," where the cock crows, and he, like St. Peter, denies his saviour, or any body else, to keep himself in place. But the apostle, conscience-smitten, voluntarily went out and wept - Whigs and Tories are never conscience-smitten, and never voluntarily go out; they are sometimes kicked out, and then they *do* weep bitterly. Such is the life of ministers who have boils, and scolding wives, and patriots to deal with, and do say, my most rational reader, whether Whig, or Tory, or Radical, if the Irish member did not propose a really useful measure? If such was the system, when a bill was brought in, members would go to the house with their minds made up, (unless they were fools,) and vote—the bill then would pass or not, according as the yeas or noes had it, and the ministers could attend to the real affairs of their offices, leaving behind them in the House a rear-guard of men full of "gratitude for favours to come," who would sacrifice themselves like the Spartans of Leonidas for the good of their country or the hope of place,

perched on the tip-top of Shakespeare's cliff, practices a "*hear, hear, hear!*"

But to return to my Utopian secretary. Having well brayed *Methusela, Solomon*, and *Job*, in a mortar, and made a colonial minister out of the jam, still his long life, wisdom, and patience could

and die hard on the treasury benches. Then the speeches would begin; then would orator meet orator! Idle men on both sides—

> "Then rage the war of words for nought began,"
> "And geese instead of eagles lead the van."

And the fight go on all night for the amusement of those who might have the health and the curiosity to sit up listening to the "collective wisdom," and the eloquence of maiden speeches. Oh, yes, Sir Boyle Roche's proposition, if a blunder, was one that would give many a minister his night's rest, and health, and strength, and vigour, to do his duty towards the public. "*Discussion*," "*full discussion*," "*long discussion*," what stuff, what *cant!* 'all vanity and vexation' of ministers! nothing more. Is not every question of importance fretted to death by the press, absolutely torn to rags, long ere it reaches the "*cock-a-doodle-do*" house?—to be sure it is! and every man goes there resolved to say "*yes*" or "*no*," hear what he will, and a wishy-washy fellow full of "*impartiality*," and "*moderation*," and "*absence of all prejudice*," and who means to "*hear both sides*," is one that may as well stay away for all the good he will ever do. I wish such a man's constituents joy of their bargain! they ought to pick one out that *squints* and *stutters*, for as he is never sure of which road he will take, or what he will say, it is as well to have him all of a piece, a *uniform doubt*, physical and moral; it is the only consistency they are likely to have in him! I do hope some member will bring in a bill to have the vote *first*, and the gabble *after*. If a Whig will do this, the *Tories* will now join, they know the odds are against them, and they will do any thing to get rid of a debate! But the Whigs won't do this—such a measure would be too decided, and too good for the country—it must be done by a Radical reformer!

do but little; he could not do justice to forty distant, and widely separated, realms. What then can one man do, who is called upon to govern all these kingdoms in an official life of a *few days?* Within *four* years we have had *four* colonial secretaries, Sir George Murray, Lord Ripon, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Spring Rice*—what Sir George Murray did, I know not—what Lord Ripon did, *all know*, or I would explain it here, being anxious to do him that justice, which, by refusing, he afforded me an opportunity of doing myself—Mr. Stanley bought twenty millions worth of black slaves—and Mr. Spring Rice has been too short a time in office to do any thing, except what, I hear, he has had the manliness, and good sense to do, that is to say, frankly acknowledge it to be *impossible* for any one human being to govern all our colonies, as the system now stands. The fact is, (and no able and honest man will deny it,) that every day must produce questions of high import to some one, or more, of the colonies, which would require weeks, months, and even years, to understand in all its bearings. How then can the Colonial Secretary of three days, or three months, standing, answer attacks made in the House, and sometimes most unwarrantably, either for atrocious party purposes, or by members, who are, themselves, deceived?—it is not always that a colonial minister may be able to repel such attacks, however unjust, nor have we any right to expect, or to wish, that a member, who thinks the secretary of state in the wrong, is to refrain from the just exer-

* Since the above was written more changes have taken place, and "another and another still succeeds!" How is it possible to do business in this way?

cise of his duty in attacking such secretary, and defending an oppressed colony, or an oppressed individual, or one, whom such member conscientiously believes to be oppressed. Simply, then, the case stands thus:—the secretary for the colonies is the responsible man for all the mischief, general, or individual, which folly, or knavery, can commit in the various governments of forty distant realms. Under such circumstances what has generally been done? An enormous system of patronage has arisen; and an outrageous degree of misconduct and fraud grown up in the colonies, because every governor knows that he can baffle any attack made upon him—he knows that there are too many chances in his own favour for an enemy to get the better of him. The probability is, that the minister will hear him, but not hear his enemy. If the minister be an honest man, and is ready to hear both parties, still it is not always in an ill-used man's power to come to England, and state his case. All those difficulties, and a hundred more, enable governors to have their own way, make the minister think them right, and generally support those they have appointed, while the governors, on their part, sometimes may have no other object but to *make money*, and, for the purpose of keeping other men's mouths shut, let them do the same; so that a web of fraud is thus woven, which honesty itself cannot break through without personal ruin, and this no man likes to encounter, particularly when he feels that he, thereby, does no good to his country, and, merely, becomes the laughing stock of the rascals by whom he has been overthrown; no ordinary courage can fight with such odds, moral, and physical; and thus the great disorder, which pervades

our colonial government, is a necessary consequence of the duties of the colonial secretary being greater, both in quantity and quality, than any *able* and *honest man* can thoroughly perform: to do so would require a *dozen.*

The present colony, about to be formed for Australia, is calculated to give the death-blow to this system. I much doubt the assertion that this colony can do without any assistance from the British government for the first few years; I believe it *cannot;* but I do believe, and am quite sure, it may do with very little assistance; and I am also sure that, after a few years, it may *repay* that assistance, and support its own expenses; this cannot be done if jobbing be permitted; either the colony must die, or jobbing not live. Now if the colony flourishes, if it cost nothing to the mother country, it is as clear as day, that the public will not endure the expense of Sydney, and Van Dieman's Land; they, too, must support themselves; and every colonial government in the empire must be new modelled. If all our colonies support their own expenses, they ought to have the power of governing themselves, and all the injustice, cruelty, and folly, which now exists, and from which there is no practical mode of appeal, will be done away; at least, it will be done away with, as regards the colonial office, and will be confined to the precincts of each colony, where every ill-used man will be supported by his fellow citizens, and where he can defend himself: the accuser and accused will be brought face to face at once; judges and witnesses will be on the spot; the case known, and, at least, all the materials of justice will be there, however they may be used. Thus the colonial secretary will be

released both from the patronage, and the responsibility, except in extreme, and general cases; and the work which would remain might all be done, effectually, by a colonial secretary, whose interference might not, perhaps, be very mischievous, provided the minister possesses honesty and talents. I say this advisedly, being convinced that no man can well govern any country from a distance; and that colonies should be independent. Such as are military positions, held prepared to protect our commerce, in the time of war, must, of course, be, so far, interfered with, as the security of their garrisons demands. I, therefore, say, that the governor of the South Australian Colony is bound to produce a model of cheap government, and to do so without any assistance from the mother country, except that which is required for its establishment in the first instance, and which the colony would soon repay.

In this part of my book, I will propose a system of taxation, to which, I cannot, at present, discover any objection that would not apply to *all* taxation. I think it is peculiarly adapted to a colony where every thing is to be created.

The tax, I propose, is, if I may so term it,

A POLL-TAX.

A certain portion of injustice mixes itself in all things. Taxation is not exempt, but the introduction of a poll-tax, in the formation of a small colony, might be done with such great advantages, as to render the quantity of injustice very trifling, not only, as compared with other modes of taxation, but positively. The advantages seem to be

1. That the collection of such a tax being unexpensive, the tax would be very productive.

2. That it would preclude those tricks of government, by which a great mass of the people are heavily taxed, without discovering that they are taxed at all, till such taxes become absolutely ruinous. The government, we will suppose, costs £10,000 a year. Some circumstances demand an increase of expense, and it requires £20,000 a year. The direct poll-tax falls, at once, upon *every man*—all consult, and discuss the question, and a general and just opinion is formed (and loudly expressed) as to the propriety, or impropriety, of the measure, which thus doubles the tax. But if a tax falls direct on *A*, and only effects *B*, remotely; the latter rarely finds out that he is taxed at all; and *having no sympathy* with *A*, the complaints of the latter are unheeded; for men will not unite on *principle*, when not incommoded in *practice*, or, which is the same thing, do not *perceive* that they suffer. I therefore imagine, that a poll-tax would prove a most efficient check upon government extravagance; an advantage of no ordinary description.

3. Its extreme simplicity renders every man a judge of it. The poorest man understands that there must be a government, and that it costs so much, and how that cost is paid, and his own portion of that payment. The only doubt that arises is, "*Do I pay less than my neighbour who is richer?*" The answer to this question involves fewer difficulties than may be at first imagined. We levied a tax for the roads at Cefalonia. The whole population was divided into six classes. I never heard of any complaints being made that the

local government did wrong in this arrangement, and the reason was, that we allowed no class to be *exempt on principle.* The moment an exemption took place, in any particular instance, inquiry began as to the *why*; but *all* were content, while *all* paid—*none* would have been content, had *any* class been exempted on a principle of exemption. Men are ready to suffer much together, but will not suffer *even a little,* when their neighbour does not suffer *at all.*

I also observed, that if individuals were wrongly classed, the discontent was, not with government, *but with the individual* who so defrauded the public, as to pay less than his share, by getting placed in a wrong class. This feeling was just and useful. *Just,* because the odium fell where it was deserved. *Useful,* because it relieved the government from a degree of blame, which it had no right to bear; and which, under a more complicated system, it would have borne.

Now for the classification. The principle upon which to do this with least injustice, would be—1st. To render the whole expense of government so very small, that the tax would be a matter of unimportance—in short to produce a feeling of indifference about it—to make men think and say, "*Pooh! the tax is a mere trifle, it's not worth talking about,*" and 2dly. To make men *desirous* of being placed on the higher classes, by giving to these classes such distinctions and privileges, as would tempt men to place themselves voluntarily in the higher gradation.

If we, for example, make six classes, then divide the expense of government among the whole population; allow this to give *three shillings a year,* for

each person, on lowest class, to pay, and which, if wages are 3s. a day, would be a matter of no great pressure to a labourer considering the ordinary low prices of food in a new colony. Then let every man, possessing a beast of burden, be put in the next higher class. Every man with a cart a class higher. Every man with a carriage for pleasure, still higher; and so on, each class giving, to the persons composing it, some privilege in municipal rights. Certain precedence and distinction, such as men's nature covet, and will pay for, if the cost be *small:* not if it be *large.* I would, also, place men on the higher classes according to the amount of their landed property. Against the argument, that a rich man ought to pay much more tax than a poor man, nothing can be objected; the poor man requires more protection from government than the rich; because he is less able to protect himself. But if the government be placed upon the very lowest practicable footing of expense; the difference of amount between what a rich, and what a poor man ought to pay, would be so trifling as not to become a matter worthy of discussion. I think it is the *weight* of the taxes, rather than their *disposition,* which is the real evil. That great *economy in the government* is the leading principle of this mode of taxation is so evident as, at once, to account for its not having been much thought of. *No jobs could exist* if the revenue were so raised. As the people increase, public offices would become somewhat more extended, but the revenue would increase in a much greater proportion than the expense; and, consequently, the rate of taxation, to each individual, should be diminished. Make TAXATION LIGHT, and then, no one will

feel the unavoidable inequality which always exists in its pressure—and the more numerous the population becomes the less this injustice will be. Can any injustice, or inequality of taxation, exceed that which exists in our complicated system; destroying the hired labourer, absolutely destroying him. While, on the other hand, the advantages of the poll-tax seem to be immense. Is any tax in England a check upon the expenditure of the government? I believe not. Yet such an advantage would, unquestionably, belong to a poll-tax.

Let it be understood, that I am far from presuming to offer the above observations as defying contradiction. I offer them, merely, as a view of taxation which I have taken; confirmed therein by having submitted these observations to a man, much more competent to judge than myself, and who sees many advantages, and no disadvantage in the plan I propose; except that there may be some doubts of the expediency of granting precedence and distinctions to the higher classes; as all new colonies are sure to be democratic, and honours granted to some of their number, because they are richer than the rest, would give umbrage to the remainder. I am aware of the truth of this remark, and can only meet it by a story.—An old lady, (not given to humour young misses in their caprices,) was at church with some damsels; one of whom complained that the pew was too hot—"*Is it, my dear?* said the starch old dame, drily. By and by the young one said, "*I cannot bear it.*" "*Can't you, my dear?*" A little after, another said, "*Ma'am, she's fainting!*" "*Let her faint, my dear.*" Such an answer is all I can give to the democratic portion of the colony; and, in a colony under the crown of England, I,

not being a republican, think it would be sufficient: but it would not be so in an *American* colony; nor would "*Let her faint,*" *remove,* though it might *over-rule* discontent. However, the classes could be regulated without this exceptionable part, which is only a matter of detail, and not a *principle,* except it be considered in the light of a justifiable opposition to the democratic principle: a principle that I strongly suspect is not, altogether, natural in colonies, but created by vile jobs, or rather outrageous injustice, which irritate men's minds against kingly government. I will now conclude my observations on the *four* reasons given for forming this colony.

With respect to laws for the colony it may be advantageous to establish the "*Code Civile*" of Napoleon; which, I have high legal authority for saying, would be advisable. *Some* of my readers will be shocked at my proposing that *Englishmen* should adopt *French* laws. To them, I answer, that the "*Code Civile*" of France, contains much that has been taken from the *English* law. Others again will be shocked at *any* thing being adopted, which emanated from *Napoleon.* To both, I answer, that I am not writing to please prejudices, but writing what I believe to be useful; what a professional man of great talents (and one of His Majesty's privy council) assured me would be useful,—a man, also, than whom no one is more thoroughly versed in our colonial system. On the matter of laws, I should not presume to offer my own opinion, or even to form one. If it is any satisfaction to my *orthodox* English reader, who, with "*truly British feeling*" hates Napoleon, I can assure him that my adviser called the em-

peror by the correct appellation of "*Buonaparte*," which, I hope, will modify the sin of praising the civil code of "*our natural enemies!*"*

* What I have said relative to political economy *in the foregoing* chapter, is by no means intended as an attack upon that science, my sole object is to oppose those who would endanger the happiness of the poor, and the safety of the rich, by acts of legislation, founded upon the assumed infallibility of their assertions, believing themselves to be adepts in a science not yet fully developed, and on whose most important principles its professors are still at variance. I well know that among political economists there are many able and good men whose opinions may be just; but when we see the people starving;—when an overwhelming taxation, and large farms, *fully* account for this starvation, in the opinion of a vast majority of men;—when we see tracts of uncultivated land, sufficient to maintain three times the actual population of the country;—when we see men in power resolved to deprive the labourer of that parish relief, to seek which, the errors of these very men have reduced him; surely an honest man, fully persuaded of the fact, is bound to raise his voice against this hardship inflicted upon the poor, however feeble that voice may be, and, especially, when he hears sayings like that attributed to Lord Althorp, that, "*we are not to yield to our feelings*," such a speech, ascribed to a man said to be incapable of entertaining any feelings but those of kindness and benevolence, strongly marks the danger of doctrines that are contrary to the best aspirations of our nature, and so specious, as to persuade good men that cruelty is firmness! It is painful to observe brutality take the shape of an enlarged view of humanity, and become a point of conscience in a benevolent mind. But when the person so deceived possesses great power, the effect is terrific! On this subject, see Mr. Cobbett's "Legacy to Labourers," a work of extraordinary power, and one which it would be wise in our rulers to study. If our great landholders will read this beautifully written little book, it will teach them more of the feelings and opinions of the country, than all the books in their libraries! But they will not read it. They will say "*Cobbett is a d——d rascal*," and fancy they have *thereby* answered this book! I remember an old Scotch song, the burden of which is —

"And bide ye yet, and bide ye yet;
"Ye little ken what will betide ye yet!"

CHAPTER II.

The outfit and passage to Southern Australia.

As I have never been in those countries, I can only collect an imperfect assemblage of facts from books; but every colonist will be thereby in some degree assisted in his enquiries, and by keeping a little book in his pocket, in which he can insert every thing that he hears of as being useful or necessary, he will soon get a complete account of the things he requires. The first thing for a colonist is the most difficult of all: it is to *know himself.* Is he healthy, sober, industrious, bold? Can he meet difficulties and delays with fortitude and perseverance? if so, then he will do: but if he be a "*what in the world shall I do?*" sort of a chap; if he and his wife can recollect having said, "*I don't know what to do,*" three times on the same day, in their whole married life; then, to such a helpless couple I say, "stay at home, and yawn, and grumble, and stretch your idle legs, and twist your useless thumbs in England; or go to Canada, and lose all your helpless fingers by frost; for your blood is lazy and fit for nothing." Again; if you and your wife fling away bits of rags, rusty old nails, throw away bits of twine, do not save old buttons on a string, in what is called a "*glory hole,*" that is to say, a drawer, or box, or shelf, where there is an old hammer, a gimblet, a pair of pincers, a broken tea-cup, with a

little dirty oil in it, some keys without locks, and some locks without keys, an old razor strap, an old tooth-brush with which to clean locks, and a saw: if you throw such things away and have no "*glory hole*," I say then, "go not to Australia," for you will do no good; but will grumble, and starve, and worry every man, woman, and child, in your tiresome reach. There you will find no pity, and will receive the reward of your idle disposition, by being the object of contempt and ridicule to all. But to those who say, "*I won't*," ten thousand times for once that they whine "*I c-a-ant*," and who say "*I will*," ten thousand times, for once that they say "*I won't;*" I repeat, "*come to Australia, and in a few years you will grow rich.*" To put you a little in the way of knowing what you will require, I shall give you, in the Appendix, an extract from Mr. Carmichael's "*Hints to Emigrants;*" desiring you, in the first place, to learn how to cook *salt meat*. People who never have made a long voyage, are not the least aware, how much their comfort depends upon having salt meat properly cooked. Salt meat, when *well* cooked, is delicious; when *badly* cooked, is hard, and altogether uneatable for *ordinary* stomachs. *Extraordinary* stomachs eat any thing; we hear of men who eat *cats* alive, beginning at the tail, and so, gradually encroaching upon poor puss, till her last squalls echo in the depths of the monster's throat. Then there was a French general Pillet, whom I knew very well, and who was a very clever fellow. General Pillet was wounded and taken prisoner by the 50th regiment, at the battle of Vimiera. When captured, he was far in advance of his troops, exhibiting great courage. He afterwards broke his parole, and was again captured by the

50th regiment at Hastings, in Sussex. This General Pillet wrote a book about England during the war, in which he says (as I am told, for I never saw his book), that his countrymen, who were prisoners at Norman Cross, used to make a *practice* of eating the visiting field-officers' horses, while the officers went into the barracks; so that when they came out, there was nothing to be found but the horses skin and the shoes!* To be sure General Pillet told a number of wonderful stories to amuse his countrymen, and make money, and if I could find a copy of his book, I would buy it to bind up with Sir Walter Scott's "*Life of Napoleon*," and Baron Munchausen's entertaining adventures. Some men have wonderful stomachs, morally as well as physically. There seems to be nothing too gross for Frenchmen to believe, if it be written against Englishmen, and nothing too gross for Englishmen, if it be written against Frenchmen. Then there was a Prussian, in Frederick the Great's time. We read that he could eat a sheep alive, wool and all: being brought before the king, one of the Prussian generals standing by, all over boots and spurs, and mustachios and padding, and half cut in two by tight lacing at the waist; (something, in short, like a pismire rampant!)

* For the use of weak stomachs, I insert the following receipt for boiling salt beef.

Let it soak in cold water for *forty-eight hours*, changing the water several times. Then put it into cold water, coming to the boil *slowly*, and when it boils, throw out that water, and again put it in cold water to boil *slowly*, taking care *never to let it boil fast*. It should remain at this simmer for as many quarters of *an hour* as there are pounds weight in the piece of beef. For ship-use the brisket part is best.

gave some affront to this wondrous sheep-eater by doubting his prowess, upon which the latter turned fiercely towards him with, "take off your spurs and I'll eat *you*." All these *undoubted facts* prove that there are most unaccountable stomachs in the world; to which I do not refer in saying, that salt meat is *not eatable* when badly cooked: but to weak stomachs I repeat,—learn to cook it yourselves. And now for an extract from Mr. Carmichael; strongly recommending you to lay out a shilling in his little pamphlet, which, besides some bad politics, contains much useful information; and, among other things, a proof of the abominable ignorance of the Emigration Committee at the Colonial Office in 1831, which completely (of course, not willingly) deceived and greatly injured a number of worthy individuals. The members of the committee appear to have but little excuse for such conduct: whoever deceived, and thus made tools of them, to the injury of honest men, ought to have been punished: this would exonerate the said members in some degree, before the public; but as we have not heard of any such people having been punished, the committee must bear the blame which has been thrown upon them by the pamphlet of Mr. Carmichael; and I will add (what the reverend gentleman has not done), that those, who could be so egregiously deceived in what related to the welfare of the emigrants they sent out, were likely to be equally so, as to the *cause* and *remedy* for the misery which produced emigration! and I believe that they were *ministers*. "All master mechanics," Mr. Carmichael says, "are sure of success, if industrious" (and with a Glory Hole, for nothing can be expected without

that). " Manufacturers of leather, soap, candles, " coarse woollen cloths, all matters relating to dress, " also ropes and earthenware, and bricks, will suc- " ceed; and all capital invested in shopkeeping and " small dealing, produces prodigious profit. The " average interest on money is above 10 per cent. " the poor man should take all the clothes he can." It has been stated, that the voyage to Australia is 105 days: this means, that it *may be done* in that time, which is true, but *four* months is the ordinary passage, or even *five*: it is right that people should know, exactly, what they have to expect; and it is necessary to state, that the voyage* is by far the most disagreeable part of the enterprize. Every body suffers, and must suffer much inconvenience at sea; nor should this dishearten the emigrants, because, though the voyage is, like all other voyages, detestable to rational people; still it is not a dangerous one; and, among the many things that render it less disagreeable than it would otherwise be, is that of seeing several other countries at which the ship may touch in its passage; but if a long voyage is disagreeable, it has, on the other hand, some things in its favour: people are generally healthy on board a ship; there is no trouble; you travel while you sleep; you have no worry with your baggage, as by land; you go on board in England, and without fatigue, you arrive in Australia. It is tedious to be so long in a ship; of this there is no doubt; but somehow one finds a way to

* Which ought to be undertaken from England, at any time, between the 1st of *August* and the 31st of *December*; and on no account at any *other* period of the year. The prices are 15*l.* for a poor man; 25*l.* for one better off in life; and 50*l.* for the best cabin passenger.

pass the time; and when you get on shore, in five minutes, the troubles of the voyage are forgotten. The grand "*pic-nic*" party then begins! All things that a poor man can get of comforts, in the eating way, ought to be taken; such as hams, gingerbread, ginger, pickles, rice, oatmeal, arrow-root, sago, also a box of aperient pills is useful to have at sea, and an ample provision of old newspapers to read during so long a voyage; on *such* occasions, be assured, that there is no better library of "*useful knowledge*"!! No man should go without a strong case-knife, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer; he who cannot use such tools is not fit for a colonist: he might almost as well whimper out, "*Lord help me, I don't know what in the world to do!*" "All "instruments of husbandry are better had at Syd- "ney, than brought out," says Mr. Carmichael, perhaps this is true; but a few iron tools are useful, nevertheless; for it is clear that they are not to be had when we *first* land, and it is *then* that they will be most wanted: but the best of all articles that the colonist can take with him is a good WIFE. I don't mean a "*lady as plays the piano beautiful*," with her fingers full of rings, and her hair full of bear's grease, but what Paddy calls, a "*ra'al good girl*," with round red elbows: above all things, fat and good humoured; no matter how handsome; one that understands milking, and sings the while, and who keeps her pails and furniture all as bright as silver; also the windows of her house; I never saw dirty windows yet, that the mistress was not a *slut*: whether rich or poor, nobody has a right to dirty spidery windows, unless it be some pettifogging attorney, whose deeds shun the light, and who may, therefore, have a thousand good reasons

for dark chambers (so may his wife, perhaps). If our red-elbowed lass happen to have multiplied, two or three brats will be *riches* in Australia; but she had much better leave such pranks till she gets there, when, without cost of carriage, they will be so much gold. The more children the better for father and mother: we shall know nothing *there* of Malthus, Martineau, and "*moral restraint*," which means, "*don't marry*;" hard words for young folks to hear, and very puzzling withal! for the parson preaches "*to marry*," when he is *inside* of the church, and "*not to marry*" the moment he comes *out!* But as these questions don't concern us here, I refer such of my readers as wish to know more, on that subject, to St. Paul.

As to the colonists, why Mr. Malthus, himself, would make us marry in South Australia, and "*moral restraint*" must *there* assume its *diametrically opposite*, and *obvious* significations; that is to say, as we are exhorted to do by the parson when, *inside* of the church, he reads the decalogue.

And now I shall proceed to the third division of the subject, with this assurance to those who are poor, industrious, and sober, that *they are sure to succeed*. Happen what may to the *rich*, the *poor* are sure of plenty to eat and drink: as sure as they are of being starved in Ireland; which last seems to be one of the few things that we may count upon as *certain* in this world.

CHAP. III.

The state of Colonists, and what is to be done on landing.

I HAVE said that on the voyage you will all be sick, and miserable, for one month; then you will be all merry and happy another month; and the third, you will all split into parties, and quarrel; particularly the women, who assume a most belligerent nature on board a ship, and choosing either Mars or Venus for their leader, we poor lords of the creation are soon reduced to the most perfect obedience either by fear or by love. Indeed all resistance, as far as we are concerned, is quickly at an end. I remember once knowing a very powerful man, the sergeant-major of a regiment, who kept the men in perfect subjection by virtue of his office, his gigantic size, and a pair of fists, that, had he patted a rhinoceros, as other folks coax a dog, the poor beast in despite of his thick hide, would have winced. This man had a little bit of a wife, who sometimes patted *him* (but never in approbation) and at which he always winced, but bore in silence and suffering during a long voyage. On being asked why he submitted to this cruel treatment, his answer was, " Please your Honour " we are in a box. I can't get away from her, and if " I baulked her any ways, at all, at all, she would " never give me a wink of sleep unless I'd be after

" gagging her, or pitching her overboard, so I may " as well hould my tongue and take it asy till we " go ashore." The sergeant-major was right, and I strongly advise all the *male* colonists to follow his example, and let the females quarrel with one another if they like; however, this would be something so miraculous, that I do not suppose it *can* happen, and any advice I could give them not to do so, would be superfluous. The sergeant-major above alluded to, was afterwards shipwrecked. On beginning to strip, in order to save his life, he saw his little wife doing the same, on which, lifting his eyes to heaven, he said, " *God forgive me that ever I taught her to swim! I'm afraid she'll make the land in spite o' me.*"

However, when we land, occupation will soon relieve us from this state of mutual forbearance. Good humour will be the order of the day. There will be a great calm! All will be curiosity. On casting anchor the vessels put forth their boats, and in a few hours every body will be on shore. The first thing then to be done is to select the *lots of land:* each proprietor will collect his baggage on his own ground, and there pitch his tent; all will be bustle. The women who are near childbirth must remain on board, and there will be a mighty squalling of children by sea and by land; such as never was before heard by mortal ears.* If there are any Malthusian bachelors, the chances are, that they will be set mad, and run wild into the woods. In the course of a few weeks of hard work, every

* The colonists are to consist of young people married about a year before they land in Australia. So the ladies will be either a little *above*, or a little *below*, or just *at* " par" ! ! !

one will be under shelter, and living upon the ship's provisions; at the end of three weeks, we shall get flour and cattle from Van Dieman's Land. Gardens will appear marked out, and sown with seed, brought by the colonists. We must expect all articles brought from Van Dieman's Land, to be very dear; merchants take advantage of the necessities of their neighbours. "*Love thy neighbour as thyself*" is quite right, but there is one person, whom a merchant does *not* consider to be his neighbour; namely—the man he is dealing with at the moment! therefore, the good folks of Van Dieman's Land will not sell cheap; it is too distant for competition in small articles, and the colonist will be put to the greatest expense. Our great holdfast will be *flour*, which must be provided in abundance either by government or by individuals. The governor (unless he be taken from Bedlam) ought to secure a large magazine of this necessary article. Every one now makes some progress in the great work of *creation;* all are in health and spirits; the poor women lately delivered will be the worst off, but advances must be made to them by the rich; each labourer and his wife having *their own master to look to for help*—the babies must be well nursed, or we shall not have a strong race; and to nurse them well, the mothers must be well fed. However, a month will shake all parties tolerably well into their habitations. A good supply of fish is certain, as it appears that fish abound on that coast. Milch cows now arrive from Van Diemen's Land, and all the little Australian world are watching for the seeds sown in the garden to spring up. Oh! the joy which the first crop of potatoes and cabbages will

produce! the care, the eagerness, with which they will be nursed! The exultation with which they will be gathered! All old soldiers know with what delight it is that, after a sharp campaign on bare rations, they get supplies of vegetables, and good bread. How much greater pleasure will the removal of such deprivations give, when wives and children have been sharers in them. But that such deprivations will take place, let every one be well convinced; those who tell you all will be sent from Van Diemen's Land, to meet you on the shores of Australia, tell you truly, perhaps: but accidents both *may* and *will* prevent such combinations of supplies; essentials will, no doubt, be found: we shall not die for want of food: but great, and to women and children, very *serious* inconveniences may happen; they have not strength which can bear such severities, and, therefore, great pains must be taken to provide comforts for them. Several of the colonists should set up shops directly, and those who have money, must advance to those who have not; thus we shall rub on very well. I reckon that in two months we shall be advanced in gardens, and that a number of farms will, by that time, have been marked out and the ploughs at work. The cattle should be fed with wild forage, and manure collected for agriculture, so as not to wear out the virgin land, but preserve it rich, and "*in heart.*" Brick-houses will now begin to rise high above the foundations. Wages will be good, and work abundant. Capital strong; the settlement will be a little paradise at *this period*. Let us now look at the future. The picture is more uncertain, and more difficult to paint.

CHAP. IV.

The Prospect before the Colonists.

We will suppose that the houses are built, the gardens producing, the farms in cultivation, the artisan at work in his shop, the capitalist gradually making his arrangements; the children at school, (indeed their whole life must be a school in such a position,) and all things in a state of prosperity.

The *questions* which then arise are, what has produced this?

Answer. The union of land, of capital, and of labour, or, perhaps, it would be more precise to say, the action of three branches of capital, upon each other: for *Land* is the capital of the man who has purchased it. *Tools* form the capital of the man who has purchased them. *Labour* is the capital of the man who works; and of which his daily wages are the interest. However, these minute distinctions appear to be very puerile. What we mean is, in plain English, that the state to which the colony is supposed to have arrived, is produced by the *poor* man working for the *rich* man, who pays him for the said work; let us continue our question. Where does the rich man get his money?

A. He brought it with him.

Q. If he pays poor people every day, will not his money be spent in a certain time?

A. Yes.

Q. How can he get more?

A. By selling what his hired labourer has produced,

Q. Where will he sell those things—in some neighbouring towns?

A. No; there are no towns near, neither can he sell them at Sydney, or Van Diemen's Land, because they have more than they want of the same things already.

Q. Then he must send this produce far away in large ships, wait long before he finds a market (except for wool and oil, which are sure of sale when ready) and establishes a correspondence, and longer still before he reaps any profit; this may be five or six years, it *cannot* be less than two?

A. Undoubtedly it must be two years before any produce of consequence can be raised (though whale and seal oil may be sold sooner) and before any market can be permanently established.

Q. Then how is the rich man to pay the poor man during this period?

A. He cannot pay the poor man, unless his fortune is large enough to allow him to expend this money out of his capital, and live upon the interest of a portion; which portion he lends to some one at Sidney or Van Diemen's land.

Q. Then it is necessary that the rich man should make very exact inquiries—1st. What Australia produces.—2d. What particular produce he proposes to draw from the country.—3d. How long a time it will require to prepare such produce for sale.—4th. How much money it will cost to do so.—5th. Where the market is in which he can sell it, and—6th. How much money can he sell it

for above the cost of production, and how soon he can get that profit, in order to pay to the poor man for more work?

A. All this is necessary.

Q. Is this all?

A. No, every day the poor man saves money, till at last he is able to buy land; if that land is cheap, the money that he pays for it will nearly defray the expense of sending labourers from England, but not quite. If, on the contrary, it is sold at a price high enough to send out plenty of labourers, then, probably, neither the poor man nor any other small capitalist will buy it, but prefer going to Sydney or Van Dieman's Land, where they can get land cheaper. In either case labour becomes more scarce, and rises in price, and the rich man's outlay is much greater, consequently those who have *less money*, break or go away, those who have *more*, are left alone.* The colony may thus, perhaps, droop, but not *perish*. Some labour and some capital will remain; and commerce, at last, gives to these a return. The capitalist will, by this time, have discovered what is the most saleable produce, and where his best market is to be found, and have formed his connections. He grows rich—the demand for goods increases—he gives high wages for labour; the fame of his success attracts others—he buys all their produce on the spot to freight his ships—those who sell to him run no risks—they too, will quickly thrive. The high wages may, perhaps, detract from their

* I do not think these evils are without a remedy, and that the preventives will be found in the observations at the end of this chapter. The colonist must not take alarm at a catalogue of difficulties, given to prepare him for *overcoming* them.

profits, but not materially. They will also get *Chinese* labourers in great numbers, and the colony will flourish; surpassing, rapidly, the two colonies at Sydney and Van Diemen's Land.

Q. Why did not the process you describe take place in the other two colonies?

A. I believe that it did, but the capitalists in those colonies consisted chiefly of people *paid by the English government to the amount of* £300,000 *a year.* They began by small speculations; one got a bit of land—another set up a shop—a third sold spirits; a body of troops and convicts added to the number of those who purchased these things, and so £300,000 kept annually going *into* the pockets of the colonists, *out* of the pockets of the people of England; and capital continued to accumulate in Sydney and Van Diemen's Land at this enormous rate; besides, the proprietors of land have convicts to work for them; this advantage is very great, though it is said to be *less* than is generally imagined, and probably is so; still it is an advantage, and a very great one; for, call it what you like, it is slave's labour: the convicts are slaves. But in southern Australia, no such assistance from England can be expected; there will be no convicts, and no people paid by English taxes; and no capital can possibly accumulate, except by the industry and talents of the colonists, turning what money they take with them to good profit. And how far this will take place is doubtful to me, being ignorant of the productions and demands of those countries, also of many details on which speculations are founded.

I refer the reader to the Appendix, for an extract, showing what those who think that they understand

these matters suppose to be practicable. That the course of events will be, as stated, I strongly suspect, because, though I am ignorant of many *details* (as already stated) which ought to be known, before a man can pronounce upon the advantages of any speculation, still, as a common farm in England absorbs the profits of the first year, in the cost of its establishment, I am sure that a large colony alighting in the deserts of Australia, must, from the nature of things, require several years to make a return for the outlay; and during these years, in my humble opinion, it probably will droop. I may be wrong in my conjectures, but it is right to state all the difficulties that I think I can foresee. The plan of purchasing labour by the sale of land, is an exceedingly ingenious and excellent conception, and does great credit to the projector. But more must not be expected of it than it can perform; and I doubt whether any man can prove that it will remedy all the difficulties I have stated. A market must be permanently established for other produce than wool and oil, (for we cannot all be shepherds and whalers,) before the capitalist can thrive; and he must be able to bear the losses which waiting for this market entails. It may, however, be said, that when a market shall be found, the plan of supplying labour by the sale of land will, probably, make South Australia leave the colonies of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land far behind; for no one will settle in colonies among convicts, from whom they are in constant danger; and without any advantages except those of slave labour and English salaries. And to counterbalance even these advantages such settlers must also take a longer voyage to reach the penal co-

lonies. I must, however, mention one advantage, which capitalists in Southern Australia may possess, and this advantage will remedy, in a great measure, the want of an immediate market; it is this, that money bears a high interest both at Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. *Ten,* and even *twenty* per cent. can, *it is said,* be safely had; and the Reverend Henry Carmichael tells us, in his useful little work,* that, "*as to the profitable investment of large capital perhaps no place in the world presents a more favourable opening.*" What Mr. Carmichael's claims to credence are based on, I cannot pretend to say. When a man writes on such matters, he ought to tell the public what his position with regard to the subject may be. Mr. Carmichael *may* be an interested person, who sees all things relative to Australia in a good light; but, judging by his book, he seems to be candid, and worthy of confidence, fairly stating difficulties.

However, having quoted his assertions as to the employment of capital, the emigrant may consult the pamphlet, and make the necessary inquiries as to the relations which the reverend author may have with Australia. If what Mr. Carmichael says be not exaggerated, *then* the capitalist is very safe in emigrating to Australia: but one thing should always be uppermost in a man's mind who makes these sort of money speculations, namely, that very high interest is generally very suspicious in point of security. However, IF a capitalist can secure even 10 *per cent.* for his money in Australia, with the addition of numerous opportunities, which, beyond all question, exist, of "*turning an honest penny,*" he

* Published by Ellis and Co.

certainly will gain by emigrating to that country; and the colony will, *in that case*, at once flourish; because the capitalist will invest half his capital in trade, and live on the high interest which, it is said, he can obtain for the other half. In this view of the subject, the colonist will gain by emigration in all ways: he will gain in money and in occupation. "*Ennui*" is not the inhabitant of a new colony: but arises for want of energy in the mind, which is not found amongst colonists; the excitements are too great, too numerous, too constant. In an old country, most rich men are obliged to *make* pursuits, and, in following them, must adhere to *usages*, as they do in travelling along roads; but this is not all; they travel, not only along the beaten road of *custom*, but this road they travel 365 times a-year; every up and down, every turn, and even every puddle, is known to them. To "*kill time*" is their object, if they be rich; to get the most money for the least work is their object if they be poor. But in a colony all is new, all is interesting; we rise, filled with curiosity, we half shave, half wash, half dress, and then half mad, with high and joyous spirits, we jump on our horses, (our breakfast half swallowed,) and away we go, the beast as wild as ourselves, crossing the country as we please; all is new, all is animating. In such situations men freight ships; they mark out farms; they (as Mr. Cobbett describes himself on some occasion) lie along the ground, with their spectacles on, to watch the seeds coming up. New beasts, new birds, new fishes, are hunted, shot, and caught; we mount a new hill, and a new country spreads far and wide before us. A man then feels that he is, indeed, "*Lord of the creation:*" his heart, his mind, his health, all

spring within him; and tell him that he is no longer the wretch of "*civilized*" life, shivering by a fire, tottering on a turkey carpet, restless in a bed of down, vexed by small sicknesses and small troubles, and pursuing science as the *object*, not as the *means* of happiness. Here a man really worships his God, instead of yawning at a bad sermon in the aristocratic pew of a Protestant church. In the midst of his works, in the midst of their splendour, is the true tabernacle of the Deity. "Not Solomon, in all his glory, was arrayed like one of these," said he, who best knew, best taught us how to worship; and it was amidst such scenes that his pure doctrines were first promulgated! In England, a man is like a bird in an aviary; in Australia, he regains the woods and glades, and exchanges sameness for variety; the dulness of repetition, and *con*finement, and *re*finement, for the constant change of scenes, for freedom and the happy feel, which belongs to that state,

"When wild in woods the noble savage ran,"

possessing as many of the advantages of civilization as are required for social enjoyment, but which, in England, we are pushing, perhaps, beyond that point. Mr. Babbage's powerful genius seems to have found out, how to make us even *think* by machinery; and we may live to see "*Frankenstein*" no longer a romance! but my writing is as wild as the places I describe; led away by the recollection of those beautiful and lonely scenes, which I have seen on my pilgrimage through many countries; all crying aloud for *people*: every where regions without people! and yet in despite of this we huddle together in towns; and bilious philosophers, walking the crowded city, get elbowed in the ribs, till they

are quite sore, and then, out of temper, go home to write on the necessity of "*moral restraint,*" and the danger of starving from *over-population*; while Ireland, rich in its race of men, rich in fertile land, but afflicted by a bad system of government, is nearly as great a wilderness as Australia! but here I am again, galloping about out of the road, and thinking of the deserts that, thanks to Catholic, and Protestant, and Mahomedan orthodox governments, beleaguer *Rome*, *Dublin*, and *Constantinople*. Well! I have done; and take my leave of the capitalists, with repeating, that however certain and valuable the produce of Australia may be; however certain it may be, that a market will be found for that valuable produce; (and both those things are so strongly asserted by men who ought to know, that little or no doubt can be entertained of the fact:) still, *time* is necessary for cultivation, and the preparation of produce for the market; for finding the market; for establishing a correspondence; and for receiving profit. If the capitalist's fortune be strong enough to encounter these difficulties, let him go: his success is certain. If his purse is not strong enough, he will (unless he gets high interest for his money) have to struggle with very great difficulties; but still the chances are, that he will be better off than in England.

I will now address the other class of emigrants; I mean the labourers: this class consists of agriculturists and handicraft men; *both are certain of doing well;* always provided, that they are sober and industrious, for drunkards can thrive no where. It is true, that Noah, who was a good man, took a drop too much, but it was when his work was done; when his fortune was made; and after so much wet

weather, *one* excess was pardonable; but even *that* had an evil effect, for it made his children laugh at him! In short, drunkenness cannot turn to good, and will always turn to evil, in every rank of life; but it is more immediately destructive to those that labour. To *a rich man*, drunkenness costs; 1. the price of the drink; 2. his good character; 3. his health. But to a *poor man* it costs more, it costs, 1. the price of his drink; 2, his good character; 3. his health; 4. so much labour as he loses by sickness, and might otherwise sell for so much wages; 5. the time spent in drinking, which, spent in labour, would bring in money. The rich man, therefore, drinks his liquor much cheaper than the poor man. We know that the greatest comforts of poverty, are virtue and health: both are generally lost by drunkenness: one certainly is, for no man, rich or poor, can be called virtuous, who by intoxication becomes dangerous to himself and every body about him! but enough of this.

You are thinking of going to a distant country, called Australia, and some people tell you that you ought to go, because there are *too many* of us in England, and Ireland, and Scotland. This reminds me of a family which lived in a large castle. The women had a sad trick of breeding, and even bringing forth twins; and the men said to their neighbours, "*We must have another home, for this one will not hold us if our wives go on at this rate.*" And verily they were much pent up, so that all the neighbours said, "*true it is; they are sadly crowded, they cannot breathe, their children fairly languish, and sicken for want of air.*" One, or two, however, observed a door that was never opened, and looking through the key-hole, they saw a long

suite of apartments, richly furnished but empty! on the door of one was written, in old characters, "*Church property;*" on another, "*Law of primogeniture;*" over the door of a third was "*Irish ignorance of agriculture;*" on a fourth (and this was a very big room, containing a number of knives and forks, and empty plates and dishes,) was written "GREAT FARMS," in characters larger than all the others. "*Holloa! neighbours,*" said they to the family, "*why here are rooms enough if your wives should have triplets instead of twins for twenty years to come! what the devil do you mean by saying you have not room?*" "Gently, gently, for God's sake, speak gently," answered they who ruled the castle, "those rooms are haunted! Why, some of "us opened one the other day with '*reform*' over "the door; it led to all the rest, and grey-headed "as we were, never in our lives did we see such a "dust as arose in all directions! we grew quite "*alarmed*, and would fain have shut it up again, "but that was impossible: all we could do was to "stand by, and prevent matters going farther. "Were we to open another of them, the whole "house would fall about our ears, and we will tell "you what, neighbours, we suspect you are a set "of rascals that want the house to fall, in order "that you may steal all that is to be had in the "confusion! What, open these doors! God forbid! "but we have a dungeon below, and into that "such fellows as you ought to be put, and used "to be put, but the good old times are gone by." However, the neighbours laughed; they gave some confounded hard kicks to the haunted doors, which made the old tapestry shake again. Bishops, and knights, and dwarfs, and ladies, with hawks on

their wrists, all trembled, but the doors were strong, and the neighbours saw that nothing short of a "great pressure from without" would open them, and convince the family rulers that if they would only laugh at the ghosts, and let their children into these rooms, their house would be big enough; and instead of falling down, would be much safer; for all sorts of vermin were breeding in these chambers. However, the rulers were obstinate, encouraging their best children to leave home, and seek a new dwelling; which the latter were quite right in doing; for, though they were persuaded that they could find no rooms so beautiful and so comfortable as these, and loved their kindred dearly, (in spite of all their prejudices about the haunted rooms,) they could not bear sleeping out at night, and never getting into the kitchen, or any thing to eat, except what their kindred, who were really kind-hearted, and good people, threw them out of their parlour windows: so they even walked off, to look, elsewhere, for worse rooms than the old house contained: they believed that the old doors would be, in time opened, and the house "set in order," but they feared that the doing of this would be too rough, and that it might produce bad blood; and, perhaps, bloody noses, which is unseemly in a family, and always does harm; besides, they knew, that among the many whims of the old inhabitants, they had a rage for sending their children to school. Now the village schoolmaster, named Broadsheet, kept constantly preaching up the doctrine of smashing the old doors, and "*to ding the pulpit into blads,*" as men used to say was done by the famous Scotch reformer, John Knox. Those who left the house, there-

fore, saw, plainly, that when the children grew up, they would unquestionably "*ding the pulpit into blads*," unless the stewards of the family were wise enough to open the haunted rooms soon, and let them be all occupied, leaving truant spirits to go elsewhere, if they chose to leave so roomy a house.

When I read this old story, I thought you, who wish to colonize, are like these men; you think the old doors will some day be "*dinged into blads*," unless the doors be opened, and the rooms set in order; but you don't like to have any thing to do with such operations, nor are you altogether quite sure that the remedy may not be as bad as the evil. In short, you are only sure of one thing: that you get little to eat, and are to have "coarser food," therefore you propose (I think very wisely) to go to Southern Australia. Let us now consider how you will fare when you get there. In the first place, you are so badly off *here*, that you cannot be worse off *there;* in the second place, there is plenty of *land*, and very little *labour;* now in England there is plenty of *labour*, and very little *land*, that *you are permitted to cultivate, on your own account.* You will, therefore, clearly see that in Australia, proprietors will be looking for labourers *to take* work; and in England, labourers are looking for proprietors *to give work.* "*Then*," say you to yourselves, "*we can get our* OWN PRICE *in Australia, but in England we must work at* OUR EMPLOYERS' PRICE;" exactly so; and that is nearly the whole question. But as this will happen to you in *any* new colony, I will endeavour to explain to you the advantage which this colony is said to have over all others, because, upon your right understanding of this subject, depends the success of

the colony, the welfare of yourselves, and that of every body else concerned in it. In the first place then, you must know that there are three colonies, already, in Australia. The first is called "*Sydney*," or "*Botany Bay*," the second is called "*Van Diemen's Land*," and the third is called "*Swan River Settlement*," (some say it ought to be called the *Goose* River Settlement.) There are subordinate settlements also, but they are dependent on the above three.

The two first-named colonies are those to which convicted felons are transported; so that they have been well termed "*great prisons*." At the Swan River there are no convicts: to this last nobody now goes, and most people already there, wish to get away from it if they can: we shall, therefore, only speak of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. Now, if you go to either of these places, you will find the wages to be nearly as they are given in the Appendix, which extract is taken from Mr. Carmichael's "*Hints*," before alluded to, and published by the Emigrants' Friend Society; Mr. Carmichael says they are correct. If this be the case, you see that great labour will make you thrive; but that the wages are not, in general, so great as to give you fortunes large enough to pay such wages to others. You must, therefore, continue to *labour for yourselves;* and, even should you get enough to hire servants, they will be *convict servants*, felons, who may rob and murder you: and, if you are very far from any town, you must have soldiers in your house to protect you from these men. What! live with cut-throats, who are *at large!* live in constant dread of those who compose our own household! our own family! This is horrible! no man would

willingly lead such a life. But lead it you must, if you become a gentleman, at either Sydney or Van Diemen's Land: in short, honest men, perhaps, thrive in these two countries; but they thrive among cut-throats, and cut-purses, and consequently wish to come away. The disgust which all this wickedness produces, is so great, that it was resolved to form another colony, where no convicts should be sent: a vast number of good people were delighted with this, and they all went to the *Swan River*. But what was the consequence? no servant stayed with his master, no workman with his employer; there was plenty of land for nothing, and every goose thought he would have land, and be a gentleman, forgetting that there must be *rich* and *poor* people in all countries. They got land, but of what use is land unless it is worked? and who is to work, if all are gentlemen? they got land, and many starved, for no man can fast till his crops grow up: now all this misery arose from the labourers, and servants, being deficient either in patience or honesty: honesty would have made them fulfil their engagements, and patience would have made them all rich: but they quitted their masters, spread themselves over the country, and either died of want, earned a miserable existence, or escaped from the colony.

Some English gentlemen, seeing all this misery, turned their minds to invent a new plan, and to have a colony without convicts; and at the same time to make sure that the labourers should not leave their masters, disperse, and starve; but should be constrained to be patient, and, thereby, have the certainty of *themselves* becoming landed proprietors, and masters of other servants, in a few years. The way these gentlemen went to work was this; they de-

termined, that (to prevent the labourers from getting land for nothing at once, and so ruining themselves and their masters as at Swan River,) they would have the land *sold;* so that a labourer should work to get money enough to purchase land; and when able to purchase land, the money, paid for it, should be sent to England; and for that money, more labourers (suppose two) are to be sent out, in lieu of him who has just bought that fresh land; and *one* of them will work in the new farmer's place, with the master that the new farmer left, the *other* labourer will work with the new farmer himself, on *his new farm:* these two labourers, after a few years, will, also, be able to buy land, and become *new farmers;* and the money will go home to pay for the sending out more labourers: so that the old ones, now become new farmers, will always be sure to have servants. The next thing which these gentlemen considered was, that at the Swan River, the poor people are said to have scattered themselves far away over the country, and so died, without any one knowing where they were. To avoid this, the new colony is to build a town at once, and the ground is to be sold in small lots, so that the farms may be close at hand, and the people help each other; besides, a great many will be artisans, who want no land, but yet require to have a small house and garden, and will work at their trade in the town. All this will keep us close together, and then we can do more work than when dispersed, far and wide, over a desert land. In short, the advantages of combined labour are so numerous, that there would be no end of stating them; and I refer the reader to the amusing history of Lemuel Gulliver, when he was tied down by the Lilliputians; well then, the same com-

bination of forces which tied down Gulliver, will raise the colony up. By these means we shall also attract good people, who will find steady honest servants instead of convicts, and the people so attracted to the colony, will bring money among us, and enable a greater number of servants to lay by their wages for the purchase of land, than would otherwise take place, and consequently a greater sum would be raised to send new labourers from England: for this want of *hired* labour is what keeps colonies from thriving so fast as they otherwise would do; which I will try to explain in a few words. The object of every man's labour is, to lay up enough money to enable him to live without labour. It is clear, then, that if all the labourers and servants at once got land (say twenty acres each), no man would work for another, because all the labour a man could give, he would require to cultivate his own land, and even that labour would not be enough: now then; suppose that each man had money to buy necessaries for two years, which time would be required to get his produce from 20 acres: we will say, he got his 20 acres in 1834, in that year, as well as 1835, he would be obliged to spend all his money, and in 1836 he would have crops of wheat, and potatoes, and turnips, and no money: but what will he do with these crops? every other man would have the same! all would be *sellers* and not one *buyer!* if any man could make his field grow crops of breeches, and shoes, and shirts, all would do well; but as these will not grow, they must be bought; we must have people to give us *money* for the produce of our land, which will *feed*, but not clothe us, unless we can sell this produce. "*But*," says the labourer, "*I can get shoes and*

breeches in exchange for wheat, without money:" pray who will give them to you? Snip, the tailor, will not wait two years till your crops are ripe, and if he could so wait, he does not want wheat, he has plenty of his own, having land as well as you: he wants *money* to buy tea, and sugar, and furniture, and clothes, &c.; but, even if he could give you a pair of breeches, still you must work hard to get up your wheat to give him in exchange, and the same work must go on all your life. You can never *cease to labour*, and cannot, by barter, lay up a fortune for old age. It is true that, in some years time, there may be so many children born, that much ground will be cultivated, and gentlemen with money may come, and settle among you; and so this colony may improve gradually: but this will neither be during your lives, nor during your children's lives. *Your* life will be spent *without much comfort*, though with plenty to eat and drink, in reward for hard labour; but tea, sugar, clothes, furniture,—all the *luxuries* of life,—you cannot enjoy, and will much regret, because you have once enjoyed them. Savages do not want these things, because they know not what they are; but you would be far worse off than the savages. None of you lose a night's rest because you have not *gotten* £100, but if you had *saved* £100 and then *lost* it, I imagine you would see the day break before you slept! Just so in this wild state; you would regret that which you *had lost:* and this is the miserable state of the people at Swan River. The government have greatly assisted to keep them from absolute starvation, though many died of want, and all because *the labourers would not have*

patience. Now, at Southern Australia the plan, formed by the gentlemen I have before alluded to, will prevent all this; but the labourers *must have patience,* or the *monied man will go away,* and leave them to labour all their lives. Let us suppose two brothers go from England, one to *Van Diemen's Land,* and one to *Southern Australia*; both, at once, find employment. The one who stops at South Australia, we will call PATIENCE; the other, who goes to Van Diemen's Land, we will call IMPATIENCE. In a year IMPATIENCE will have a bit of land, which he buys out of his wages; he will cultivate this, and sell his produce, but not at very high profit, because almost every one has produce of his own, and commodities are cheap; labour, also, is scarce, which obliges IMPATIENCE to work hard himself. He must live among a bad set, be shocked by the immoral state of all about him; if he has children, they are brought up in the midst of convicts; his daughters probably turn out prostitutes, from the scarcity of women in the penal colonies, and those few are generally women of infamous character: and what his sons may come to, God knows. He gets enough to eat, and drink, but his life is one continual source of anxiety about his children, and of personal labour. PATIENCE on the contrary goes regularly to his day labour; at the end of the year, he is still a day labourer, but with £12 in his pocket, saved out of his wages and the earnings of his wife. At the end of two years he is still a day labourer, with about £25 in his pocket. At the end of three years he has probably had an opportunity of "turning a penny," and possesses £50 for which his master will pos-

sibly, give him 15 or 20 per cent.* All this time his wife earns money also, and we may say that, at the end of six years, he will possess, at least, £100, which will bring him about £20 a-year. He now buys twenty acres of land for £30, and sets up as an independent yeoman. He is now *Mr.* Patience, grows fat, sleek, and portly, somewhat red in the face, with a double chin, and no longer to be JACK'D and TOM'D. He has his twenty acres of land in cultivation, the purchase of which, at thirty shillings the acre, brings out *two* people from England to supply his place in the labour market. He has, also, milch cows and pigs, and, moreover, his family are all brought up among industrious, good people. He has now nothing but the prospect of gain before him; he may increase his farm, and, if he has not children old enough, can hire honest men, as day labourers, or keep a decent housemaid; neither of which, it is said, can be done in Van Diemen's Land or Sydney. And now it is, that he leaves brother IMPATIENCE behind, who cannot hire honest labourers, or even get convicts, except by favour, which becomes daily more difficult to obtain. Mr. Farmer Patience may after awhile, sell his farm at an advanced price, (at an *enormous* advanced price compared to what it cost him) to some new comer from England, arriving with his bags of money, and who prefers a small farm, ready made, to the trouble of establishing one himself. Farmer Patience now wears large brass buckles in his shoes, shaves his setaceous chin twice a week, besides Sunday, and purchases a larger farm, rather further up the country. Every

* See Carmichael and all other accounts.

shilling thus laid out on *fresh* land, brings *more* labour from England; thus, whatever size his new farm may be, he is sure to find men to cultivate it; not convicts, but good fellows, fresh from England; who have, luckily, escaped, half famished, from *Big Farmer Gripe*, that starved them on a shilling a day, while he drank success to the "*wealth*" of England in his bottle of claret! I never hear of the "wealth of England" that I don't think of the fat bacon that the poor Irish family hang by a string, over the bowl of potatoes, which they sat round; each being allowed to *point* his potato *at it*, but never to *touch it!* Paddy calls this "*Praties and pint*," and such is the wealth of England to her sons! Wealth there is, and fat bacon there is, but the devil a bit can it be touched. Eat your cold "*pratie*," Pat, or *wish* to eat it, which is nearer the truth; and go to the poor-rate, more sturdy Johnny Bull, but touch not the bit of fat bacon. *That* belongs to the Middleman, in Ireland, and to Farmer Big, in England. Don't grumble—whatever your empty guts may do—don't grumble, but go to the over population "*Doctrinaires*," and they will tell you that it is all right—that God Almighty made a mistake, and you, by marrying, joined in the blunder; so not a word out of your mouths.

But when these poor fellows arrive in South Australia—*there* Farmer Patience at once hires them. *They live at his own table*, and *in a few years become farmers themselves.*

This is the place then, by which *Jack Patience* and spade, has become *Mr. Farmer Patience* and the *master of servants*, and it is very evident, that if the labourers will be satisfied to work for about

eight years, like *Mr. Patience*, they will, like him, become landed proprietors, and have their own servants. But if, like IMPATIENCE, they go to Van Diemen's Land, they will not starve, certainly, but they will, probably, remain labourers, and servants, and the *companions of felons all their lives*.

Thus, after wasting several years, they will possibly return to Southern Australia—which, if the experiment succeeds, will be a more flourishing colony than any which has been planted in modern times. But let us suppose that this experiment does *not* succeed; the settler can but go to Van Diemen's land at last. So that, if he be resolved to emigrate, Southern Australia seems to be, above all others, the spot for him to choose.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages, it will appear, that the colony may fear two dangers.

The first is, that the small capitalist may not be able to bear the outlay that must take place before a market shall be found for the produce of the country; and before sheep can be bred, or imported from Van Diemen's Land, in sufficient numbers to make the sale of wool profitable, and therefore that capitalists will leave us.

The second that labourers will leave us.

The first danger will be remedied, if the high rate of interest on money, said to be easily procured in Sydney, and Van Diemen's Land, may *really* be had.

With regard to the *second* danger, namely, that the labourers may leave the colony, it is hoped that the observations given at the end of this chapter

will show how this danger may be prevented. And it is, also, supposed that, if the price of land be made *too low* to furnish the market with sufficient labour, (which, from the averseness of many to give the higher price, is very possible,) a supply of *Chinese* labourers may be imported; they are said to be hard working and thrifty, and their wages low. Nor ought we to despair of seeing labour procured from the *natives*. That they may be civilized, is past all doubt, if they be treated with justice. Every traveller's account of them, that I have seen, proves them to be by nature, equal to all other men. Captain Sturt and Mr. Lang, in their books on Australia, and the Van Diemen's Land *almanack*, all give anecdotes of the nobleness and courage displayed, on various occasions, by the natives. The error made by all those who have called the natives of Australia "a race which forms the link between men and monkeys," is, that such writers take the general habits and actions of the savages as the rule by which to judge. This is a false criterion; it only marks the *degree* of *progress* they have made in civilization; which depends wholly on accident, and is therefore not a rule to judge them by. The way to judge of their capacity, is to observe their conduct and habits upon extraordinary occasions; exceptions, marking nobleness of mind and talents. The extracts I shall give will, I think, show that these poor people are as good as ourselves. The story of the war with them in Van Diemen's Land, is that of aggression, and horrid cruelties on the part of the English; of forbearance, long suffering, and, at last, of unqualified vengeance, on the part of the blacks; who, (consi-

dering the odds against them in numbers, in skill, in fire-arms, in discipline), made a most *courageous* resistance against us. They received us kindly, when we first invaded their country; we took their women, and the only defence they made, was seeking to escape; we tortured them, and they only made partial resistance to our cruelties; we then took their infants, and, from that time, they declared war for ever against the "CIVILIZED" *whites*—which will end by the extirpation of these ill-used blacks! It must excite the indignation of every honest man, to hear of the cruelty with which these poor people have been treated, by the convicted ruffians, whom the British government has sent among them; and which cruelty the various governors have, it appears, vainly tried to put an end to. The unhappy natives have not only been *shot for diversion*, as the kangaroos, and other animals, are shot, but the moral feelings, with which they are endowed, like the rest of the human race, have been made the means of increasing their agonies, and, consequently, our sport. We are told of one of our civilized countrymen, making a savage woman *carry her husband's head hung round her neck as an ornament!* this same civilized gentleman having first diverted himself by the murder: the *savage* woman, of course, being obliged to suffer whatever indignities the *civilized* gentleman chose to inflict upon her, and, in all probability, finishing the drama by having her own throat cut also. Another amusement of the *civilized* (as we are informed) is "*catching a savage*," and tying him to a tree, as a target to fire at.

I do not give these as isolated facts—as solitary crimes—they are stated as specimens of *a practice!*

If some of our practitioners, who are said to amuse themselves by the most horrible, and disgusting tortures, inflicted upon dogs, go to Australia, I suppose we shall hear of savages being dissected alive, for the "*interests of science.*" One thing, however, appears to be clear; namely, that in despite of the governors, every sort of torture, mental and bodily, has been, and continues to be, practised upon these people by the remote settlers. We rob the natives of their land, we rob them of *their* food, (the kangaroo,) we then shoot them to protect *our* food (the sheep), and we not only shoot, but torture them for our diversion; and finally, we say, that they are incapable of civilization, because their stupidity does not find out, that we are a delightful people; because they do not love us as the light of their eyes! We call them *savages*, because they "shrink under our courtesy," and we denominate ourselves a *civilized* people, because we set up what we term "national wealth," as our God; form the study of how to increase it, into a science; and make large mercantile fortunes, by the wholesale murder of infants, in our manufactories, while all around is misery, despair, and famine! In short, we torture and shoot "*savages*," and call ourselves the most *moral*, and the most *religious*, and the most *civilized* people, in the world! Who is to lead this colony to its destination I cannot say, but if *I* am, I will not leave England without laws, that shall give the same protection to the savage as to myself, and those who go with me. We exclaim against monopolies; we must not then have a *monopoly of justice*. And I am well assured that those who have been instrumental in forming the plan of this colony, as well as the colonial Secretary,

and such of the colonists, as I have had the pleasure of making acquaintance with, all hold the same opinion and feelings: but all experience, and all reading, tells us what monsters are sometimes to be met with amongst English colonists; and there can be no reason to suppose that, after a while, we shall fail to have the same alloy in Southern Australia. We shall have this misfortune, as surely, as that the sun rises and sets; and, therefore, the law should give the power to hold such men in due subjection.* There is among *civilized* men, an un-

*By *hanging them;* (I hate indeterminate expressions.) I know that there is a great portion of society which wishes to see the punishment of death abolished. It is, indeed, a very dreadful punishment: and very few will dispute the general opinion, that the English penal code is a sanguinary one. Still, a total abandonment of capital punishment would, perhaps, be going too far; and, among other agricultural produce, a little HEMP is, perhaps, not amiss: for example a small field of it now and then attached to a rope-walk. Though I would not put either near a manufactory, where they murder children; because, though one feels a little angry with a *good-natured* fellow, who fractures the skull of a girl of eight years old, or breaks a few of her little bones, or twists her spine, to keep her awake and lively; still one forgives him, poor fellow; it's all in "*the way of trade,*" it's his "*business,*" and one cannot blame him. Indeed if you will inquire into the facts you will find that the children are always to blame—not one of these little, unreasonable, creatures, love work! And he who kills them is a man "quite incapable of cruelty even to an animal." "The last man in the world" to do a harsh thing, (unless, perhaps, the captain of a slave-ship.) Oh no! it's all a popular cry; all comes from those vile "*radicals,*" mere faction—"*morbid sentiment.*" No *child* is ever made to work *more* than ten hours a day at a stretch, (indeed, the HUMANE Whig act limits the *infant* to this discreet and GENTLE degree of labour!) and never beat with a stick *much* thicker than a man's thumb, which, every one knows, is pronounced to be the legal thickness for conjugal castigation; and of course, for children, as well as wives. The little devils are *so sleepy,*

holy, and unchristian-like contempt for those whom we choose to call savages; that is to say, people who are in a state which, for my part, I believe to be quite as happy, if not more so, than ours: for though a well-washed London dandy, would be less offensive in a hot room than a savage smeared all over with filth, instead of ottar of roses, still the savage, in strong health and spirits, is happier than the dandy, with his gout, his indigestions, his sleeplessness, his ennui, and his—God knows what maladies besides; to say nothing of his tailor's bill, if he pays it; and the "*Duns*" if he don't!—to be sure he has the King's Bench to take refuge in from all such mundane worries, and *there* civilization certainly has the best of it. The King's Bench is a dry, retired, comfortable place of sojourn, where a man has the greatest attention paid to him. They

that some stimulant *must* be used. Who can object to the wholesome chastisement of a child of ten years old! A child who is well starved, and, also, well worked for *ten hours!* and yet, in despite of all this care, the perverse urchins *will* fall asleep at their work, and endanger the "*national wealth!*" There! ye SAVAGES of Australia! There is science for you! There is civilization! Only think, if your thick skulls can concoct thoughts, think of the most wealthy country that the world ever beheld, receiving all its grandeur and mighty force from the lank hands of poor little half-starved crippled infants! And without killing above eighty per cent.! Glorious effects of machinery, and the "*interests of science!*" Honour be to the "*march of intellect!*" Verily I suspect that hell is a great manufacturing district, and that the "MARCH *of intellect*" has there got into a *full gallop*, the Devil on its back urging it forward with whip and spur! But in spite of all these reasons, which might prevent our wishing to see a *rope-walk* and a field of *hemp*, near a manufactory itself; I would, nevertheless, have them near the houses of those who make laws to *allow* of these slaughter houses, in order to produce "*national wealth.*" Agriculture is good in all its branches, even unto hemp!

even "*take his picture!*" which is flattering to his vanity! This, I confess, is better than a cursed cold, dripping, rheumatic cave, full of stalactites! However, in King's Bench, or Cave, every man has a right to be as happy as he can, in this life; and I see no reason why the savage should not choose his own way, as well as other people. For my part, I think his wild life very superior in happiness to ours: many old soldiers will agree with me, in the opinion, that a "*bivouac*" is better than a town, except in two points, namely, the absence of female society, and, sometimes, of sufficient food. Now, these the savage generally possesses in his free, and happy life. *There* he has no newspapers to make him bilious; no tithes to disturb his religion; no starving people to envy every mouthful he eats; no "*learned professions*" to torment him: in what, then, is our life superior to his? I really know not: we have doctors trying to keep us *in* the world; and Malthusians trying to keep us *out* of the world. Bishops, who tell us that God is all in the *right;* political economists that tell us he is all in the *wrong;* and compounds of *both*, (moral monstrosities,) parsons and political economists in *one*, who tell us to worship both God, and Mammon—to get great riches; but not little children—an *inside* of church doctrine, and, *outside* of church doctrine! We have good cookery, and bad digestion; clothes and not modesty; safety coaches, and break our necks; books, too numerous to read. Then we have political economy, and "*moral restraint*," but are steeped in political extravagance, and as to breeding! those devils of women breed like mad things, in despite of all the good advice to the contrary. In

short take science, " by and large," and really one is wonderfully puzzled to say, how it adds to human happiness. But it adds to " *national wealth.*" Oh ho! it does, does it? These are big words, sound portly, and when an Englishman says, " *England is the wealthiest nation in the world,*" he holds up his head, and pokes out his chin, and his belly, till he almost bursts the waistband of his breeches, chinking the " *pewter*" in his pockets, and thinking that the end, and object of existence is attained, as he steps into a steam-carriage, and, slips through twenty miles an hour on a rail-way, as an Irishman would say, " *like a flash of lightning through a gooseberry-bush.*" It may very possibly be true that *he* is happy; but the jingle of his money has collected a dozen miserable beggars round him, whom he drives away, with a d——n for them, and the poor's-rates; which poor-rates they forthwith apply to—get drunk—steal his fowls if they can, and beg again next day: unless they are, really, honest-hearted, starving, and *prudent* men, who detest such a vagabond life; in which case they commit some crime, that secures their being transported, thank the judge for passing sentence, and away they go to Botany Bay; where they live happily, and die respected. Verily no man can speak against science; it is a very pretty pastime; makes men rich, and roguish; has a strong antipathy to religion; but what is far more important, it increases " *national wealth,*" and is much recommended by our pastors, except when they hustle on their harness for church, and *there* they tell us gravely, that we *cannot* worship " *God and Mammon,*" that the riches of this world are *vain;* that riches increase our difficulties in the

road to heaven; and so forth. Now, I believe, they are quite right, and that the devotion to riches or "*national wealth*," and to the "*interests of science*," is any thing but an advance to real happiness. We make a primary object of that which should be only secondary. If I am wrong, let those who say so, answer two questions. 1st. Are we not the most *scientific*, and most *wealthy*, nation in the world? 2d. Are we not so miserable,* so starving, that no one can say when the poor will not rise upon, and destroy the rich? a hateful, a horrible, and an unnatural state! The obvious conclusion is that wealth, and science, do *not* produce happiness! which depends upon religion, and morals, and upon them alone, as far as individuals are concerned: and upon JUSTICE, as far as government is concerned. I do not believe that any of the evils, which produce unhappiness to the labouring class in the British Empire, can be proved to depend upon science for its removal. And I do not think many evils exist, that cannot be traced *wholly*, and *home in all their bearings, to some act of injustice in the government!* I am aware of the ineffable contempt with which all that I have said will be received by men of science, and political economists; but, nevertheless, in the midst of all our wealth, and all our science, Irishmen starve, and Englishmen "*prudently*" commit crime to get transported! And the "*savans*" will oblige some millions of men, if they will make science, and national wealth, take the shape of a *loaf of bread* as soon as possible. Foote, having lent a brother

* See "England and America." Note ii. "Miseries of the Bulk of the People."

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comedian a guinea, waited a long time, and, seeing no hope of payment, asked for it. The other acknowledged the obligation, saying, he would try to "pay him in *some shape* or another;" "thank you," said Foote, "and I hope it will be as *nearly in the shape of a guinea* as possible." So say the labourers of Great Britain and Ireland, to the sticklers for the "*interests of science*," and for "*national wealth*," let them be as nearly in the shape of a *loaf* as possible! or *any* shape but that of *the* (not *a)* Poor Law Amendment bill!

I have said that we rob the aborigines of Australia; I say so, because, when we oblige them to concentrate their population, they must perish, or become civilized; that is to say, get gout, and education, and, what Mr. Cobbett calls "*waust improvements, ma'am*,"—in short, they must make a sudden *change* in their mode of life, which their want of knowledge does not admit of their quickly doing, and, consequently, numbers must die. If this is not robbing them, I am at a loss to know what robbery means? We deprive them of a range of territory, which they hitherto possessed for themselves, and their animals, and without which territory they starve! This is not JUST—our first act is one of progressive extirpation, and, therefore, of great injustice. The question, then, appears to be; if we are resolved to do this act, cannot we do it in such a way as to diminish the injustice, and so reduce it almost to nothing? If it be admitted that happiness consists in "*waust improvements*," I answer *yes*. We may *pay* for that which we take perforce; and, in the next place, as we drive the poor savages into a smaller space, we may teach them our own accomplishments. Diseases of the most dreadful and

disgusting nature we have, it is said, already bestowed upon them; and we may follow these up by calomel and brimstone; and, finally, by the chymists' shop in all its brilliance, and beautiful big-bellied blue bottles, giving them physic, and gas-lights, if not morals. So that if we force them to huddle together like ourselves, in the midst of the stinks, and the smoke, of large towns, we shall, at least, teach them how to keep carcasses made crazy, and souls made sinful, together, as we do our own; and as we see that man arrives at this state, by dint of restlessness and curiosity, we are bound to believe it is natural to him, and the way in which (Mr. Bernard says) the Devil gently coaxes us over to his side of the question.* Instead, then, of downright robbery, we shall make a *forced*, if not a *fair*, exchange of our system of life, for their land. But, to be serious, they must be *won into a peaceful intercourse with us.* We have the example of Penn before our eyes: yet hitherto we seem to have preferred following that of the Spanish ruffian Pizarro, and his cut-throat crew. As the Australian colony is to be new in all its systems, I trust it will be so in that, of treating the natives as human beings, like ourselves, and making savage and civilized equal in the eye of the law. Indeed, I know that those, who are now engaged in the formation of this colony, hold this opinion. For my own part, I am strongly persuaded that we may, in a few years, get labourers from among the natives; they have human forms, and must have human appetites; they eat, and drink, and, therefore, must have a choice of what they eat and drink; upon

* See "Theory of the Constitution," vol. i. p. 514. an extraordinary book.

those appetites we must work, till we can so pamper them, that they will give labour in exchange for their gratification. To do this may require ten or twenty years: it will be hard for us to overcome the just idea which they must have formed of the murderous propensities of runaway convicts and savage settlers. A native, when he finds our people shoot at him for sport, begins to suspect that we are awkward playfellows, and avoids our society. It will be for the Southern Australians to give them a better lesson, but it must be by example. However, it is impossible to pretend, that the task will not be met by great difficulties. These wild people have studied our national character in the feats of the convicted felons that we have sent among them, which Lord Bacon so justly terms "*an unblessed thing*" to do. "*It is*," says he, "*a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant*"; "*who*," he adds, "*will ever live like rogues, and be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals.*" However, though John Bull has been so foully represented by such ambassadors, we may, by patience, and great gentleness, convince the natives that they will be both safe, and welcome, among us. To do this, we must begin by avoiding much communication with them; confining all our intercourse to an exchange of advantages through the medium of a *few* colonists appointed, expressly, to conduct all dealings with the aborigines. Thus we shall begin *wedge* fashion, and come, gradually, to a good opinion of each other, and a knowledge of our respective habits; but if we all come together at once, John Bull would get in a passion at some foolish thing, and a quarrel would ruin all. Our

intercourse must, at first, be like flags of truce. Besides savages are, generally, almost as cunning, cheating, thieving, and revengeful, as civilized people, though not so expert; and there would be no wisdom in letting them mix with us, in great numbers, till we are quite sure of their friendship; that is to say, when we have persuaded them to believe that it is *their* interest to unite with us in social ties. I should think there would be no harm if we could induce them to transport all *their* ruffians to us, as we do *ours* to them! We could soon make the sojourn among us, very agreeable to these fellows; though we could hardly hope to make them wish to be so transported from "prudential motives," as in England—it requires the perfections of a *civilized* government and "*national wealth*" to accomplish that admirable degree of popular happiness! We could work pretty freely upon the sensualities of our native savage convict, who could not run away, because his own people would recapture him; and, in time, he would take to wearing breeches, drinking grog, and sipping ox-tail soup. We should also get his family to join him, and among "*the Misses Savage*," perhaps some good-looking lass might import charms enough to bring a little "*cupidizing*" into our service, in this civilizing affair; by abandoning her "moral restraint," and marrying. We know that there are already some half-English, half-native children: these we must seek out, and claim as relations; they will, perhaps, afford us a link of union between the two races: in short, no means must be left untried, to make them think us good fellows, and wish to do as we do. And this, as I

have said; can only be accomplished by a very gradual intercourse: at first, confined, reserved, and made extremely profitable and pleasant *to them.*

Before I conclude, let me just call the attention of my reader (if any of them have had patience to follow me so far) to the propriety of the British government forming, with the least possible delay, a *belt* of small colonies all round this immense island. These little colonies should be composed of strong labouring people, and placed wherever a settlement can be effected. They should be formed of people from Van Diemen's Land, Sydney, and Swan River, men who know the soil, and climate. They would be more likely to succeed, than people from England. By means of these colonies, we should exclude any foreign settlement; which it is desirable to do, for the moment a strange language and form of government is introduced by a foreign colony, the seeds of future wars will inevitably be sown. England ought not to permit a foreign establishment; and the best prevention is pre-occupation. A marine officer, with a small vessel at his command, could have the government of all, and be constantly employed in visiting and surveying the coast. I say a "*marine*" officer, because I think it would be a duty especially suited to that excellent corps, which has gained a larger share of the glory won in the war, than of the rewards. If the governor of Sydney were to send out such detachments, northward, on the eastern side, and the governor of Swan River on the west, the northern coast would, probably, be occupied (at every practicable spot) in the course of ten or fifteen years. The southern coast will be tolerably guarded by King George's Sound, the South Australian

Colony, Van Diemen's Land, and the Islands of Basse's Straits.

I will now venture to offer some observations, addressed to the Commissioners who are to be appointed by His Majesty, to direct the affairs of the South Australian Colony.

I address you, gentlemen, with the consciousness that, generally, you know more of the subject of my observations than myself: but there are a few details that you (occupied with other affairs) may not have had time to consider, and to which you will not, perhaps, deem it presumptuous in me to call your attention.

The great doubt, as to the success of the scheme for forming a colony in South Australia, seems to arise from the want of information, relative to the spot on which it is proposed to form the settlement in question. This is the *first* difficulty. The *upset price* of land, is the second,—and the means of securing a sufficiency of hired labour, is the *third*.

With regard to the first,—namely, the dearth of local information—what do we know? We know that there is a fine gulph, and that *Port Lincoln* is a fine harbour. So far we may trust to Captain Flinders, who was a sailor; but you cannot trust to Captain Flinders' account of the *land*, because his acquirements were not of a nature to enable him to form a judgment: and if they had been, still his examinations were not of a nature to give him an *opportunity* of judging of the soil. His objects were nautical, and general; and he neither did make, nor was he capable of making, the detailed report which the establishment of a colony demands. Therefore, all we know of Spencer's Gulph is, that it contains a good harbour. But

Captain Flinders found fresh water! Very true; yet that is no proof that fresh water is *always* to be found, and Mr. * — * * ——— *, a scientific gentleman of great local knowledge, who resided a long time in New South Wales, told me, that a friend of his (Captain * — *) being in want of water, went to all the places where Flinders had found it; both in Kangaroo Island, and Port Lincoln, and there was, *then*, not sufficient water. His friend was obliged to run for Van Diemen's Land. Let us, however, suppose Captain Flinders' account to be correct, as no doubt it was, and that the water, which he discovered, was there when Captain * — * went, though the latter failed to find it; let us suppose all this, (and the supposition demands some credulity,) still, I assert, that there is no certainty of the supply of fresh water for a fixed, and large body of people.* Even, should it be ascertained that fresh water abounds at *one* season, you do not know that it will abound at *another* season, or that it will exist *at all*, during the fearful droughts of *three years duration;* of which droughts, partially taking place, we have *positive information.*† We *do* know that large rivers are dried up during these long cessations of rain; and that those, which are known not to be wholly dried up, become little better than a succession of pools—in the greatest part of their course. We do

* Captain * * * says he found water in abundance at one place in Kangaroo Island, but under the high water mark and under rocks 500 feet high; besides it was on the south coast, where no town can be built, there being no port—Mr. John Jones gives a good account of water and of Gulph St. Vincent.—See Appendix.

† See Appendix.

not know that the rivers, which flow into Spencer's Gulph, are not among the number of those so dried up. We do not even know that important rivers exist in this region, though we may *suppose* that they do; (Mr. * ——— * thinks not); but are we to colonize upon *supposition?* This is not *information!* It is true that the rivers *may* exist; they *may* contain fresh water, (the Darling river is in some parts salt); they *may* defy the droughts, but they *may not.* Besides, unless a river flows into a good harbour, it is not suited to the objects of our colony. The only river of whose existence we have positive information is the Murray; and the mouth of this river has not yet been found; it, apparently, loses itself in Lake Alexandrina. Our information is indeed very scanty, and that which we have is not precise. The effects of imperfect information have been exemplified in the misfortunes of the Swan River: in those misfortunes we ought to find a lesson. As to springs of fresh water, all who have been in warm climates know that they dry up in summer; some remain, of course; but will those remain where we plant the colony? Will they bear three years drought? Who shall answer these questions? Some traveller, or some one who has read travellers' stories; proverbially careless, and unworthy of credence! And on such flimsy information shall we build a town, intended for a capital?—if so, the first building erected, should be a *bedlam!* in short, we must avow, that all which relates to the constant supply of water for a large town, is *uncertain;* and such a supply is of *vital importance.* Let any man imagine a town built; twenty or thirty thou-

* See Appendix.

sand inhabitants therein established—their capital all vested in land and buildings; for ten or twenty years all goes on well, when—a drought of *three years*, without a drop of rain, takes place—water every where fails. The picture of desolation, which presents itself to the mind, is quite enough to deter people from, *hastily*, building a town. What then is to be done? I answer, let the government immediately send a vessel to the spot, with proper people to examine the doubtful points, to seek for rivers, and ascertain from the natives whether those rivers resist the long cessation of rains. Unless some satisfactory information is obtained on this head, it would surely be unwise to build a town, for, be it recollected, that a ship's crew, or a few wandering savages, finding water for three or four days, is a widely different affair from the constant supply required by the concentrated population of a large town, with its flocks, its cattle, its gardens. And so I will conclude as to this most serious matter, by expressing my *supposition*, that though no sufficient information appears to have been collected, there *must be* (in the earth) *an ample supply of water*. The grounds on which I form these opinions, need not be stated, because, in such a question, *conjectures* are idle.

Now for the *second* and *third* difficulties, for they go together.

The act of parliament says, that the lowest upset price shall be *twelve shillings per acre*, but gives the commissioners the power of placing a higher price, if they deem such higher price to be necessary. What that higher price shall be, or if *any* higher price shall be put on the land, seems to be the difficulty; and I do not pretend to solve

it. On the contrary, I believe no one can do so, and that only a guess can be made. However, the guess may be better made, by looking at the disadvantages of *high*, and *low* prices. Captain Kennedy and myself have given our best attention to the subject, and our view of it is this. If you put the lowest value on land, namely, 12s. the effect will be, that you bring but *two* labourers into the market for every hundred acres, not only to cultivate those acres, but also, for all handicraft work besides. Now, if these *two men* were wholly employed in agriculture, they would be insufficient properly to cultivate one hundred acres. If *one* be a tradesman, then but *one* remains for cultivation; and the capitalist, or landholder, is still worse off: but the evil does not stop here—*both* may be tradesmen. The land proprietor has, then, no labourer to cultivate his one hundred acres, though he has paid £60 expressly to have labourers! And thus, if the land be sold at 12s. the whole scheme will be blown up. Sufficient labour will not be supplied; but this is not all. Capitalists, having purchased large tracts of land in the confidence of having labour for their purchase money, and not finding that labour, will abandon a great portion of their land, and cultivate but so much of it as the small portion of labour, in the market, permits of them to cultivate; and for this labour they must now pay highly. The labourer immediately gets rich, and buys a portion of his master's uncultivated ground, instead of public ground. This, still farther, exhausts the labour-market; because, as the labourer purchases from a *private person*, there is no fresh labour supplied. The labourer may also hire this private uncultivated land—here is another loss of

labour in the market; and thus it is clear, that, if the colonists will not give more than 12s., the *principle of the colony must be destroyed*, and it will become like all other colonies. Let us now examine the evils of high price, and take £3 12s. per acre, as stated in the Morning Chronicle, to be a fair price. This would bring out twelve men and their wives (to the 100 acres) for the labour market —is this number too great or too small? I confess my inability to decide; it is certainly too much for agricultural purposes, which would demand but four or five men per 100 acres; but we want *other* work, and the seven men, that are not required to cultivate land, would be applicable to those other purposes—would they find employment, or would they not? The commissioners may, perhaps, be able to say—I cannot. In the consideration of this difficulty, let it be recollected, that five men are said to be sufficient for the full and perfect cultivation of one hundred acres. But every hundred acres will not be so cultivated, and, therefore, it is probable, that five men will be *more* than sufficient for cultivation, and the overplus be more than sufficient for the other work. If so, £3 12s. appears to be too high a price: and what are the evils produced by too high a price? The first evil is, that the small capitalist cannot afford to pay it. He is alarmed at the great deduction made from his capital; he has to *live*, till his land repays him; he has to buy instruments of agriculture, live-stock, seeds, &c.; and when he is sufficiently alarmed by all these serious considerations, he recollects that at Van Diemen's Land he can get land for 5s. instead of £3 12s. per acre, and away he goes! I may be told, that it is not *wise* in him

to do this: that it is not taking a good view of his subject: still it is the view that he *will take;* it is the *practical* view; the view which he is sure will correspond to his expectation: while, on the contrary, remaining in South Australia draws largely on his powers of reflection and speculative qualities. Call him oaf and fool, if you will, but he will go to Van Diemen's Land nevertheless. The more bold and sagacious speculator will perhaps remain. Let me now examine the effect of high price upon the labourer, who is, in fact, a small capitalist. It would be, that the moment he saved money enough to buy the quantity of land that he resolved upon purchasing at the Van Diemen's Land price, he would go to Van Diemen's Land, and not wait several years longer to get it in South Australia. It may be true that, in the latter place, he would become a *master;* and in the former be destined to remain without servants; but he sets off against this advantage, the happiness of being no longer a labourer for hire; of being, at once, a small, but an independent farmer, and this attraction is too great to be resisted. Such are the evils of high price. The moment a labourer rises into being a small capitalist, away he goes, and carries with him a portion of the colonial capital, in money, in labour, and in industry; which makes his departure very injurious to the general interests of the colony, whereas, if he purchases land in a short time, at the low price, within southern Australia, the colony benefits.

Having shown the evils which arise from too *high*, and too *low* prices, let us take a *mean;* let us suppose that four men are sufficient to cultivate one hundred acres of land; and *one* man disposable

for other purposes; making an average of five men to be brought from England for every hundred acres; and for all purposes. I say, an average, because, in some cases, the hundred acres may not be *all* cultivated; in others, three men may be sufficient; while extra hands may be required in other pursuits. It is impossible to enter into the exact details, and, therefore, I take five men for every hundred acres as a fair average; sufficiently near for our purpose. Now, to convey these five men, and their five wives to Australia, will cost £150, which sum, divided among the hundred acres, gives 30s. per acre, as an "upset" price; founded upon the simple basis, that five men per hundred acres will be sufficient to meet all the demands of agriculture and commerce; and the sale of land, at 30s., will furnish that supply. I have taken no notice of the women; whose numbers equal that of the men. The average is, therefore, *ten people* to every hundred acres; which is a high one, for women work very hard.

The temptation to go to Van Diemen's Land will still exist, but it will not be so great, so overpowering, as it would be if the price were £3: 12s. and, consequently, the danger will be diminished; while sufficient labour will be brought into the market.

If necessary, the price may be afterwards *raised* to two or three pounds without injustice. On the other hand, if the price is, at first, made high, it cannot be *reduced* without some injury to the previous purchasers.

But we have another means of preventing the labourer being enticed away, by the low price of land in Van Diemen's Land. It is by the simple

means of demanding repayment from him of the £30 which has been paid for his own and his wife's passage. The vacancy in the labour-market, which he creates by his departure, would then be supplied. Nothing can be more fair than this; and to render it more than fair, to render it advantageous to him, he should be held to have cancelled this debt, the moment he *purchases thirty pounds' worth of land in South Australia.* It appears to be impossible to raise the slightest, well founded, objection to a rule so just, and at the same time so effective; if he goes away, he pays £30 and suffers the loss. If he *remains,* he pays the £30 for so much land. There can be little doubt, I think, which would be his choice! It may be said that he will buy £30 worth of land, and sell it directly for £20, but still he suffers a loss; which would always be a great check. In order to prevent any temporary defalcation in the labour-market, I would also propose, that when a labourer had saved money for the purchase of land, he should *deposit a part of the amount in the savings bank,* giving notice at the Register Office of his having so done, and designating the lot of land he wishes for: that a year should elapse before he could be put in possession of the said land; receiving the interest of his money during the year; and in that time, the government would have supplied his place, by the arrival of a new man. The sum deposited must not be less, and need not be more than the £30, which are required to bring out a substitute. During this year, if he chose to continue labouring for hire, his savings of wages and the interest of the money in the bank, would enable him to stock his farm. There is one difficulty

more, to which, I must allude. It occurred to Captain Kennedy, and does not seem to have been thought of before. I shall insert the whole calculation in his own words, it relates to the—

"SUPPORT OF THE COLONY DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS."

"The act requires that £35,000 should be vested "in land before the expedition takes place. This "£35,000, the act provides, shall be expended in "conveying poor labourers, or mechanics, to Aus- "tralia. The cost of transport will be £15 per "head: £35,000 will, therefore, carry out 2332 "poor colonists, of whom one-half are to be women. "There will then be 1166 men, and a like number "of women. Let us suppose one-half of the first "expedition to consist of artificers, and the other "half of agriculturists, labourers, or servants. "That each artificer has a right to expect, in- "cluding what his wife may earn, 5s. per day. "That each agricultural labourer or servant has a "right to expect, including the value of his wife's "labour, 3s. per day.

"We shall now proceed to calculate what a "year's wages of the working colonists would "amount to, that we may form some idea whether "we are likely to have sufficient funds *amongst our* "*speculating capitalists* to meet the demand, for it "is not enough that the requisite amount of ca- "pital should exist, it must exist in the hands of "people willing, and knowing how to invest it "productively, and in a way that shall give em- "ployment to the whole of the labouring class. "We have then 583 artificers and their wives,

" and 583 labourers and their wives. The year's " wages of the artificers will be

Men.	s.	d.	Days.	£	s.	d.	
583	× 5	0	× 365 =	53,198	15	0	artificers' wages for 1 year.
583	× 3	0	× 365 =	31,919	5	0	labourers' wages for 1 year.
				£85,118	0	0	one year's wages.

" If we cannot pay the working classes at the " rates here estimated, we must expect that they " will go to Sydney or Van Diemen's Land, where " they will get such wages. What then should be " the amount of capital taken out, that may allow " us to calculate on £85,000 being paid in one " year for wages? I should think not less than " six or eight times this sum."

By this calculation, the commissioners will see the necessity of not allowing more labourers to go out, than the colonists will pledge themselves to employ; and must give ample security that they will so do, or there would be danger of exceeding misery. If, on one hand, we take measures to secure labour; we must, on the other, take equally strong measures to secure payment for that labour. I ought to say, *stronger measures*, because, if the *labour* ceases, the capitalist has means of removing, but if the *payment for labour* ceases, the labourer starves—*he* has no means of going away, and no money to buy land. It may be objected that to support the system of the new colony, which, though not mine, I am, in some degree, advocating, I offer rules for keeping hired labourers *in* the market; while the remarks that I have elsewhere made, in favour of small farms, show, that I wish to see hired labour taken *out* of the market as much

as is possible. To this I answer, that a civilized country, full of inhabitants, with trade, markets, and "means to boot," is one thing. A colony in a desert, with three years to wait for produce from the land, and (God knows how long) to wait for a market, with all things to create, is another thing; in one case, the *labour* abounds; in the other, the *land* abounds. If you give a labourer *in England* twenty acres of land, he is sure of an immediate market for his produce, and a quick return of his money. If necessary, he can borrow enough to live upon, till that return takes place. *In the desert* the case is different; the settlers, who go to the desert, are divided into two distinct classes: namely, *capitalists*, and hired *labourers*. The latter are the fruits of the large farm system in England.

Now, the *capitalist* in the desert, must pay the *labourer* in the desert, or the latter cannot live: for he has nothing to subsist upon, till the land produces; he is an English pauper, created by taxes, and large farms. The land will not give any return for two, or perhaps, three years. How can the pauper feed, and clothe himself, or find the implements of husbandry, and seeds, unless he sells the property, which he possesses; and for which he finds a ready purchaser; and which property he cannot employ, to his advantage, except by selling it? I mean his *labour*. Again, how can the capitalist live in the desert? Not *on*, and thus deducting *from*, his capital, but by *employing* his capital, to draw forth the fruits of the earth, by the sale of which fruits he can increase that capital: for this purpose he must have *labour*, or he must go away. Here then we find *capital*, and *labour* not existing in the possession of the same

people (not combined, as in small farmers) but divided, and as two distinct commodities, possessed by two distinct classes of people, and neither able to avail themselves of their riches except by combination; for the labourer has no money to *buy* the land, and the capitalist has not the strength to *work it*. Neither class can (for the first three years) live without the help of the other, in just proportion, which is by no means the case in England, where the preponderance of power is with the capitalist.* But

* Because the labourer could not (in case of a "strike") go and "squat," as the Americans call it. He could not kill wild animals for food, as he can do in a colony. In England large farmers both *can* and DO combine and conspire to starve the labourers. Just as this sheet was going to press, I got a letter from the wife of a large landed proprietor, giving me an account of his endeavours to defend the labourers, in his neighbourhood from the large farmers; who have, *by agreement*, resolved to reduce the wages to eight shillings per week; which the labourers *cannot live upon*. Here we have a fact, which came, as it were, expressly, to prove what I have said in this book about large farms. Here we have four shillings a week taken from the hired labourer to pay for the pianoforte, and cap-o-one-side. "Oh but there are the *taxes*," says Farmer Big. I know that, Farmer, as well as you; but then make your landlord lower his rents, for I see no reason why you should make the taxes fall on the labouring man—but while you and the taxes are allowed to exist, you will do so—every thing falls on the hired labourer. There is some eastern religion that describes the world as resting on a little tortoise: so our world of taxes falls on the poor hired labourer, who, like the tortoise, bears all. But, Farmer Big, when I called you a nuisance, when your farms are so large as to enable you to drink claret, instead of beer, and keep hunters instead of having (as Mr. Cobbett tells you, you should have) your farm servants live with you; when I blame all this, do I say the taxes are *right*? or any thing except *a curse* upon the land, and upon you yourselves? No sir, the taxes oblige you, perhaps, to rob the labourer of *one* shilling, but you take *two*! The truth is that a *few* of you may do

the greatest power is, in Australia, with the labourer; for, being the most hardy, he could, in case of a quarrel between the "*belly and the members*," struggle with famine a little longer, for "*Jack*" would, in such case, be not only "*as good*," but *better* than "*his master!*" Now, this would be a sufficient answer to the accusation of inconsistency, if it be brought against me—all in England is *ready made*—all in Australia has to be *created*. But let us follow this reasoning a little farther, and see what will be the result of this combination in England and in the desert? In England the labourer remains for ever a poor independent miserable spadesman, whom taxes, large farmers, and other evils crush to the earth. He is like the worm that he chops with his spade; and, in age, he falls into a workhouse, glad, by means of the poor laws, to receive back (and *most justly* to receive back) a part of that property which a vile system has taken from him; viz. a fair portion of the produce of the land; he looks upon death as his only hope of rest and happiness: to him this life is, indeed, full of miseries. Now look at the labourer in the desert; how different, how noble are *his* prospects! He works hard, for high wages—he *soon* saves—he *soon* becomes the purchaser of a small farm, having exchanged his labour for money enough to make this purchase, and for his support till he raises a sufficient quantity

no great harm, and, under certain circumstances be even useful, and some taxes are necessary: but you have *both* become insufferable plagues; you are as painful as two rotten teeth, and, believe me, the dentist is at hand. Reform will put ye both to the rout!

of produce. His labour is always profitable for *himself;* and he can afford to hire another man, because in proportion as markets are established, the demand for produce increases, and he purchases more land than he can cultivate alone. Quickly *his* labourer becomes, in like manner, a proprietor; and the more rapidly each labourer becomes a small proprietor the better; provided he expends enough in the purchase of land to supply his place in the labour market. The object, therefore, of securing the labourer's continuance *in the labour market* for a certain time, is to get him, safely, *out of that market;* and has *no other* object, as far as my arguments, (good, or bad,) are concerned. I have heard that some people object to labourers going out at the public expense, if they possess a small capital of their own. I, on the contrary, think this is extremely desirable. The man who goes out with £50 in his pocket, puts it to interest; adds to it with his labour; and more quickly becomes a small farmer. The rapid change of *men,* in the labour market, consequent upon this circumstance, does no harm, for, by the regulations proposed, he cannot quit the labour market until his substitute arrives from England. During this period he adds to the capital he before possessed, and enters upon his small farm, an independent yeoman. Nothing can be more desirable than to have labourers with £20 or £30 in their pockets. For besides bringing capital into the colony, they are thrifty, saving, sensible men, who will add to its moral strength. If those who may have doubts on this subject, and who wish to keep the *identical man* a labourer for the longest possible period, will consider well, that the labourer is prevented, by the

rule proposed in this book, from quitting the market till his substitute arrives; they will, I imagine, see that good, not evil, arises from the quick-coming fortune of the labourer, for, as far as the capitalist is concerned, the labourer is like the king; *he never dies!* and, as far as the labour is concerned, he is cheered and animated to labour by bright prospects, daily realized before his eyes; and which good fortune must, inevitably, be his own, if he be sober, honest, and industrious. It is such a prospect, and such a prospect alone, that can sweeten the severe pain of labour, that curse upon man, a curse which, without the hopes of great reward, is scarcely to be endured.

CHAPTER V.

Conclusion.

I shall conclude by giving some extracts from different authors, relative to the natives of Australia; and which extracts, I think, will show that the character of these people is naturally fine, and, like their climate, mild: that they have evinced, on various occasions, courage, abilities, generosity, and a desire to maintain peace, and good fellowship, with strangers: but, at the same time, they show a manly readiness for war if injured, or insulted. In short, so far from being incapable of civilization, they seem well formed for social life. Nor is it possible to read the account of Captain Sturt's expedition, down the Morumbidgee and Murray rivers, without feeling great interest for these Australian barbarians; and, also,

much admiration for our countryman, and his companions; who, casting themselves upon a great river, with little besides their courage to sustain their efforts, allowed the stream to bear them, reckless, and resolved, into the heart of the desert: an intrepid enterprize! unanimated by the glory of battle, yet accompanied by the hardships of a campaign—without splendour, and without reward. This little band of undaunted men well knew that severe trials awaited their bold adventure: perils from men, and from water, and from starvation; and, if they fell amidst these dangers, no fame would attend their memory; their courage would be unheard of; and their death only mourned by a few friends! Nor was the fortitude, with which they extricated themselves from the dangers of the desert, less to be admired, than the boldness with which they entered these wilds. It is not easy to express the anxiety with which we read of the determination taken by Sturt, to retrace his steps, and return by the sources of the Murray, and the Morumbidgee. A thousand miles had he floated down these rivers, encompassed by many dangers: he had, at last, reached the sea, with the strength, and the provisions, of his party nearly exhausted; they were also surrounded by tribes, threatening hostility. In this fearful crisis Captain Sturt formed the hazardous resolution to remount the river; to repass thousands of the natives, who had, certainly, exhibited much kindness of nature; but, also, on various occasions, such promptitude for war, as to preclude all confidence in their friendship: they might repent of their former hospitality, and seize the returning opportunity, to destroy the adventurous strangers! If to *descend*

with the current, was an enterprize of difficulty; what must have been the labour of *ascending?* It was descended in the full enjoyment of physical strength, and ample supplies of food: it was ascended with the increased difficulty of an opposing current, under severe privations, and with exhausted muscular powers. The sufferings which these men experienced, produced temporary insanity in one of them, and blindness in Captain Sturt himself! Eighty-eight days of incessant exertion were expended in the execution of this arduous, and successful achievement.

I am fully conscious that no words of mine can be of any service to these intrepid explorers; but it gratifies my own feelings, to express the admiration that I entertain for their conduct, and to spread the record of their names, in the small circle of my readers. We cannot doubt but that General Darling reflected honour upon his own character, by rewarding such high-spirited men, to the utmost extent of his power, as governor of New South Wales. And it is to be regretted that Captain Sturt has not concluded his, unassuming, narrative, by a statement of the well-earned honours, and rewards, which must have been bestowed upon himself, and his companions; for we cannot suppose, that the frigid "GOVERNMENT ORDER," inserted in the appendix to his book, was the *only* notice taken of this piece of public service, so zealously, and so successfully, executed, by eight determined men, whose names I will here insert, being the only mark of respect that it is in my power to pay them:—Captain Charles Sturt, Mr. George M'Leay, Harris, Hopkinson, Fraser, Clayton, Mulholland and Macnamee, boat's crew.

I will finish these remarks by expressing a hope, that His Majesty may order the governor of the South Australian Colony to erect a light-house column, on the shores of Spencer's Gulph, in commemoration of the achievement performed by Captain Sturt, and his companions.

It must be understood, that in selecting the following favourable traits of character, exhibited by savages, I do not mean to say that such facts are descriptive of their general *habits*. I think I hear some one say, "Colonel Napier wants to make us believe, that savages are not savages!" No, sir, I do not want to make you believe any such thing—they are barbarians; that is to say, *their habits* are different from *our habits*: their manners are rude; ours are polished. Their practices are, in many instances, horrible; so are ours; but in a different way. I feel no inclination to apologize for evil, either in the savage, or in the civilized man. All I mean to say is, that the following anecdotes disprove the irrational assertion of those who condemn the natives of Australia as a race degraded by nature, and incapable of civilization. These people can, and ought to be, instructed—they have been, and ought not to be, ill-treated.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS AUTHORS, TO PROVE THAT THE FINEST QUALITIES OF THE HEART, AND MIND, ARE TO BE FOUND AMONG THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA.

1.

From Moore's Letters from the Swan River Settlement.

"1833, May 1st.—Some natives, seven men, *one* "*pretty young woman*, and *two boys*, have been "here: I gave them some wheat; but they wanted

" bread very much, and stayed with me for it half " an hour. Then went to Mr. Shaw's; thence to " the barracks, where shots were fired, to frighten " them;* *they were unarmed*,—I hope we shall not " suffer from the *indiscretion* of the soldiers."

" May 2d.—Captain Irwin came here to-day, " and instituted an inquiry into this *unprovoked* and " *causeless* firing at the unarmed natives. A *mur-* " *der* was committed by the natives the day before " yesterday in *consequence* of the following *provo-* " *cation.* Some time ago a man who had come " from Van Diemen's Land, when escorting a cart " to the house of Mr. Phillips, saw some *unoffend-* " *ing* natives in the way. '*Damn the rascals*,' " said he, '*I'll show you how we treat them in Van* " *Diemen's Land*,' and immediatey fired on them. " That very cart with two men who had been pre- " sent at the transaction, was passing near the " same spot the day before yesterday, when they " were met by about fifty natives who had lain in " ambush; and the two men were deprived of life " so suddenly that Mr. Phillips, who was accom- " panying other carts about two hundred yards " behind, was hardly in time to see Ya-gan thrust " a spear into one of them as he lay on the ground. " A reward has been offered for the head of this " Ya-gan, whether dead or alive; and several " others who were active in the affair will probably " be proclaimed also. A native was shot a few " days since at Freemantle, breaking into a store at " night. In consequence of these horrible occur-

* I know of few more effectual ways of *frightening* people, than by firing shots at them; particularly if you hit them, which last has sometimes, the additional effect of also putting an *end* to their fears!

"rences we have been very uneasy. A party of "natives have been at Mr. Bull's to-day again, "and seem to impute the blame to the soldiers "alone!" (To whom *else*, in God's name, would Mr. Moore have them impute the blame? Surely not to their countrymen!)

"May 3d.—Messrs. Tanner and Peyton called "in the evening, and mentioned that the soldiers "had *shot a native* and taken three prisoners."

"May 4th.—Two natives came here to-day; "one of them is learning to speak English and is "very intelligent. I discovered the names of more "than a dozen who were concerned in the late "*murder (?)* Among others, two sons of Ya-gan— "Narah, and William; the latter a young imp not "more than ten or eleven years of age. We are "greatly in their power, and must keep on good "terms with them, if possible."

A strange way of keeping "on good terms with them!" Let it be observed that no *punishment* seems to have followed the nefarious act of the soldiers having fired, without cause, upon the unarmed natives; nor inflicted upon the rascal with the cart! It also appears, that this noble fellow Ya-gan confined his just act of retaliation (recognized by all the laws of war) to the killing of the two men, who were engaged in the act of firing a shot at his countrymen without provocation! Under similar circumstances, a European would have put Mr. Phillips, also, to death. That Ya-gan had force sufficient to have done so, is quite clear. Mr. Phillips may thank his luck, that Ya-gan was neither an English nor French officer, for either would have shot him also! The natives, and colonists, live under a *flag of truce:* and any breach of it, on

either side, would naturally be followed by retaliation—such are the laws of fair war; which these SAVAGES seem to have understood better than the colonists. It is curious that Mr. Moore, a lawyer in Government employ, should not have made any remarks on such a breach of the peace by the colonists;—but let us pursue the story of the brave and generous Ya-gan.

" May 19th.—One of the parties which have " been sent after Ya-gan have fallen in with some " of the hostile tribe, and shot the brother of " Midgegoroo, who is Ya-gan's father."..... " Twenty-four natives made their appearance, but " they were very quiet. Among them were two " very well-looking young women. Weeip gave " me a very good knife and a wedge of quartz. I " was almost alone when this party came; but by " good fortune a number of my neighbours hap- " pened to come in immediately after."

" May 20th.—Midgegoroo has been taken, and " there is great *perplexity* as to what should be " done with him: *the populace cry loudly for his* " *blood;* but the idea of shooting him with the cool " formalities of execution is revolting;" (naturally, as he had done no wrong.) " There is some inten- " tention of sending him into perpetual banish- " ment."

" May 22d.—Midegoroo, after having been fully " identified as a principal actor in three murders at " least, has been shot at the gaol-door by a party " of the military. We are all anxious to see how " the others will conduct themselves after this ex- " ecution, IF THEY DISCOVER IT: there were *none* " *of them present at it.* His son had been sent on " board the 'Ellen' previously."

Upon this transaction a few remarks may be permitted. I will not apply any epithet to it, because Mr. Moore's statement may be incomplete; for we can scarcely believe that such an execution could have taken place, without further circumstances to justify a proceeding so strange; but Martin Doyle (the editor of these letters) has put "*if they discover it*" in italics; and well he may! We are told by civilians, and writers on military law, that punishment is *to deter* people from crime. Now, if this man had committed any crime, which may perhaps have been the case, though it does not so appear by Mr. Moore's account, why were not the natives assembled to *witness* the punishment? but here it seems that the *only* principle upon which any punishment is justified, (and especially *capital* punishment,) was wholly abandoned!

To put a man to death, without letting it be known to those whom it is intended to deter from the commission of crime, is the most extraordinary breach of all the principles of law and justice that I ever met with. Let us hear what well-informed men say upon this matter.

"The several uses of punishment may be re-
"duced to *three.*

"1st. To reform those who are punished.

"2d. (Which regards capital punishments) is to
"put the criminals out of a condition of causing
"new trouble to society.

"3d. For example to restrain by fear those who
"behold it. If the object be to put criminals out
"of the power of causing new troubles to society,
"it should be endeavoured to *convince the multitude*
"that it was necessity which caused the legisla-
"ture to bring the individual to that untimely end,

" and to *warn them against following the same evil* " *ways.*"

" The King of Prussia was conscious of the in- " justice of punishing a man for a crime *which he* " *does not know to be so.*"

" It may be observed that as one great end of " punishment is the prevention of crime by exam- " ple, according to that well-known phrase, *ut ad* " *omnes metus, ad paucos pœna perveniat,* capital " punishments are rendered in this respect as ex- " tensively useful as possible by the PUBLICITY " which attends the execution."

So much for military writers. I could quote plenty of civilians had I their works at hand; but the matter is so universally known, and admitted, that to do so would be superfluous. I will however give what the Archbishop of Dublin says, because his letter to Lord Grey is on my table, and all that is necessary to be said on the subject is herein stated with great force.

" We may be allowed, then, to premise the re- " mark, that there are *three*, and *only* three, objects " with a view to which punishments can be in- " flicted or threatened; 1st, *retribution* or *vengeance* " —a desire to allot a proportionate suffering to " each degree of moral guilt, independent of any " ulterior consideration, and solely with a view to " the *past* ill-desert of the offender.

" 2dly. What may be called correction. The " prevention of a *repetition* of offence by the *same* " individual, whether by his reformation or re- " moval.

"3dly. The *prevention* of the offence generally " by the terror of a punishment denounced, whether " that object be attained by the *example* of a culprit " suffering the penalty, or simply by the mere " threat and *apprehension* of it. To these appro- " priate objects may be added another *incidental* " advantage, not belonging to *punishment as such*, " but common to them, with other legislative en- " actments; the public benefit in an economical " point of view, which may be conceivably derived " directly from a punishment, as when criminals " are usefully employed on any public work, so as " to make in that way some compensation to society " for the injury done to it. Such a compensation, " however, we should remember, must necessarily " be so very inadequate, that this object should " always be made completely subordinate to the " main end or ends proposed in the denunciation " of punishment.

" And what *is* to be regarded as the great object? " all probably would admit in the abstract, what- " ever they may do in practice, that it is the *pre-* " *vention* of crime. As for the first of the purposes " just enumerated, the infliction of just vengeance " on the guilty, it is clearly out of man's province. " Setting aside the consideration that the circum- " stances on which moral guilt depends; the in- " ward motives of the offender, his temptation, and " the opportunities he may have had of learning " his duty, can never be perfectly known but to " the searcher of hearts,—setting aside this, it does " not appear that man, even if the degree of moral " turpitude could be ascertained by him, would " have a right to inflict on his fellow-man any " punishment whatever, whether heavy or light, of

" which the ultimate object should be the suffering " of the offender. Such a procedure in individuals " is distinctly forbidden by the Founder of our " religion, as a sinful revenge; and it does not " appear how individuals combined into a commu- " nity can impart to that community any right " which none of them individually possessed;— " can bestow, in short, what is not theirs to bestow. " Our Saviour and his apostles did not mean to " deprive even an individual of the right of defend- " ing (when there is no other defence to be had) " his own person and property, and this right he " is competent to transfer, and is considered as " having transferred, to the community; but they " meant to forbid the 'rendering of evil for evil,' " for its *own sake;* and as no man is authorized to " do this, or can authorize others to exercise such " a right even over himself, so neither can ten or " ten millions possess any such right to inflict ven- " geance; for 'vengeance is mine, saith the " Lord.'"

" Of the other two, which are legitimate objects " of punishment, the prevention of a repetition of " the offence by the same individual, whether by " his reform or removal, is clearly of incalculably " less importance (desirable as it is in itself) than " the other, the prevention of crime generally, by " the terror of example or of threat. If we could " ever so completely attain the other objects by " some expedient which would yet fail of, or very " inadequately accomplish this last, such a system " must be at once pronounced inefficacious. Could " we be sure of accomplishing the reformation of " every convicted criminal, at the same time " making his services available to the public; yet

" if the method employed should be such as to
" deter no one from committing the offence, society
" could not exist under such a system. On the
" other hand, if the punishment denounced had no
" other tendency whatever but to deter; and could
" be *completely* effectual, in that it is plain that it
" would entirely supersede all other expedients,
" since *it would never even be inflicted.* This truth,
" though self-evident, is frequently overlooked in
" practice, from the necessary imperfection of all
" our expedients. Hardly any *denunciation* of
" punishment ever was thus completely effectual;
" and thence men are often led to look to the actual
" infliction as the object contemplated. Whereas
" it is evident that every instance of the infliction
" of a punishment is an instance, as far as it goes,
" of the *failure* of the legislator's design. No
" axiom in Euclid can be more evident, than that
" the object of the legislator in enacting that mur-
" derers shall be hanged and pilferers imprisoned
" or transported, is, not to load the gallows, fill
" the gaol, and people New Holland, but to pre-
" vent the commission of murder and theft; and
" that, consequently, every man who is hanged, or
" transported, or confined, is an instance, *pro tanto,*
" of the inefficacy, i. e. want of complete efficacy
" of the law. The imprisonment may reform the
" offender; death removes him from the possibility
" of again troubling society; and the example may
" in either case operate to deter others in *future;*
" but the very necessity of inflicting the punish-
" ment has, so far at least, failed of producing the
" desired effect. This absolute perfection, indeed,
" —the entire prevention of crime, is a point un-
" attainable; but it is a point to which we may

" approach indefinitely; it is the point towards
" which our measures must be always tending, and
" we must estimate their wisdom by the degrees of
" their approach to it."

Now we see that the putting of Midgegoroo to death was not sanctioned by any one of the three objects which, alone, render punishment admissible.

1st. Vengeance is not allowed of, as a principle of legal punishment, either by the archbishop, or any other person. To gratify *that*, was, therefore, no excuse for this execution.

2dly. The prevention of the crime by the *same* individual. That this unhappy man was prevented from again doing the act for which he suffered, is true; but we must first be informed what *crime* he committed. Because the retaliation, by a native, in revenge for a most atrocious aggression on the part of the INVADERS, was *not* a crime in him. What a feeling of scorn, and indignation, arises within the breast of an honest man, when he hears the impertinent assumption of superiority, arrogated by *might* over *right!*

3dly. Still less could the secret shedding of this man's blood *deter others* from perpetrating the deed which *he* had perpetrated, whether that deed were glorious or base: the effect, when the dark transaction came to light, must have been *diametrically the contrary!* First, because had he been a criminal in the eyes of his nation, (which it was impossible, under such circumstances, for him to have been,) still they were kept in ignorance of his death: therefore there was *no example.* This secresy, of course, at once deprived the execution (am I to term it so mildly?) of the *only* excuse it had! What, then, must have been the result of this bloodshed?

Why, to be sure, that of rousing the just indignation, and vengeance of the tribe, whose chief had been destroyed, and increasing the very evil which it was intended to check! The execution was contrary to justice, and contrary to good policy: it was both cruel and unwise,—at least, such was its character *as represented in Mr. Moore's letter*, and, therefore, I hope that there is some error in the account: if not, then it is right to call the public attention to such deeds, which are sometimes committed by well-meaning men, who, under false impressions, are hurried away by the circumstance of the moment, without considering what dreadful work they are about. I cannot better prove this, than by relating a circumstance which came to my own knowledge. A friend of mine, Captain B * * *, told me that, being an ensign of militia in 1798, he was ordered by two Orange magistrates to march from one town to another town, twelve miles distance, with twenty militia-men; and his orders were *to shoot every living creature that was within musket-shot of the road; man, woman, and child!* and, such was the excitement of the time, *that he did so:* nor did the atrocity of the transaction ever strike him, till I convinced him that he had done great wrong! The fact then preyed upon his spirits in the most fearful way; though he had continued for three years to believe that he had been *very loyal* in destroying the king's subjects; and *very religious* in destroying God's creatures! Happily he had not killed any woman or child, but he told me that he would have done so, had he seen them; for he thought that blood, alone, could preserve the "*Protestant ascendancy*;" (in which, perhaps, he was not mistaken.) Now B * * * was a good, an

honourable, and a brave man. He was quite a boy when he did what I have related, and was excusable; for it would have been no ordinary boy that either would, or could have dared to resist the orders of a magistrate, in those days of murderous rule, when the Irish government wanted only the name of Robespierre, to complete its sanguinary character. I regret that the names of the two magistrates have passed from my memory, that I might give them publicity. If my friend B * * * was capable of exaggerating the story, which he was not, his long depression of spirits, and loss of health, many months after the truth flashed upon his mind, were sufficient vouchers for the reality of the transaction. This anecdote will astonish no man who witnessed the scenes which passed in that suffering country, till the arrival of the great and good Cornwallis, checked the atrocities of an imbecile government; a government which was abhorrent to Moore, and drove Abercrombie, in disgust, from command! But to return to the story of the secret killing of Midgegoroo. They were quite right to try and keep it a *secret*, but as Martin Doyle has divulged it, all I can say is, from *Swan River law* "good Lord deliver us." Mr. Moore complains, that just about that time he got a "*crick in his neck*." No wonder; to live under such law is enough to give any, and every man, a crick in the neck! but to go on with the story of the brave Ya-gan.

"May 27th.—Have had a long, angry, and "wholly unexpected conference to-day with the "very spirit of evil himself, I mean the notorious "Ya-gan. On seeing several natives approach "the house, I went towards them, as usual, think-"ing they were my old friends. To my surprise

" the first I met was Migo, whom I had well known
" at Perth as the servant of Captain Ellis, and
" the friend of the chief Mundy. On looking
" round I then saw Mundy himself (who is pro-
" claimed with a price on his head); this made
" me look still closer, and at last I saw Ya-gan
" standing a little aloof, scrutinizing my counte-
" nance narrowly, and my manner of receiving
" them. I had been taxing Migo with having been
" present at the murder, which he energetically
" denied. When my eyes first fell upon Ya-gan,
" I said immediately ' what name?' They all
" answered ' Boolgat.' I said, ' no, Ya-gan.' At
" first he was inclined to persist in the assumed
" character, but seeing that I knew him perfectly,
" he came forward, avowed himself, and entered
" into a long argument and defence of his conduct
" in a way that I can hardly make intelligible to
" you; and I confess he had almost as much of the
" argument as I had. Both parties seemed to con-
" sider us as respectively arguing the question.
" Ya-gan listened with respectful anxiety, and
" used bold and emphatic language and grace-
" ful gesture, with abundant action; he delivered
" himself boldly. I did not understand him, but
" replied, ' if white man queeple, (steal) white
" man shoot white man; if black man queeple,
" white man shoot black man; if black man no
" kill cow, no kill sheep, no kill pig, white man
" all the same as brother to black man,—shake
" hands plenty,—corobbery* plenty.' Here I ad-
" vanced with open hands to them, which all ran
" eagerly to grasp, save the moody chief himself.
" They had grouped around evidently attending to

Associate in friendship.

" the arguments on both sides with great interest,
" and glad of any thing like a friendly termination.
" Ya-gan again stepped forward, and leaning fami-
" liarly with his left-hand on my shoulder, while he
" gesticulated with his right, delivered a sort of
" recitative, looking earnestly at my face. I regret
" that I could not understand him, but I conjec-
" tured from the tone and manner that the purport
" was this :—' You came to our country ; you have
" driven us from our haunts, and disturbed us in
" our occupations ; as we walk in our own country
" we are fired upon by the white men. Why should
" the white men treat us so?' This reminded me
" of a chorus in a Greek tragedy ; and the other
" natives seemed to act as subordinate characters
" to Ya-gan. After a short interval, the chief ap-
" proached again, and fixing his eyes as if he read
" my countenance, said inquiringly, ' Midgegoroo*
" shoot? walk?' (meaning, was Midgegoroo dead
" or alive.) I felt the question was full of personal
" hazard to me, and gave no reply. Even Weeip
" came, and anxiously asked the same question,
" putting his finger to my ear to know if I heard
" or understood him. I answered slowly, ' white
" man angry — governor angry.' However, my
" men assured them that both Midgegoroo and his
" son were gone on board ship.† Ya-gan still con-
" tinued to read my countenance, and when he
" could obtain no answer from me, he said with
" extraordinary vehemence of manner, distinctness
" of utterance, and emphasis of tone, ' white man
" shoot Midgegoroo ; Ya-gan kill three ;' (holding
" up three fingers.) I said, ' Ya-gan kill all
" white man, soldier man, and every man kill Ya-

* His father. † Which was a *lie*.

" gan.' He scowled a look of daring defiance, and
" turned on his heel with an air of ineffable con-
" tempt. During the latter part of this conference,
" he held a beautifully tapered and exquisitely
" pointed spear grasped like a stiletto, about four-
" teen inches from the point, while the shaft lay
" over his shoulder with a seeming carelessness.
" He evidently suspected treachery, and was on
" his guard against it, taking care not to let my
" men press on him too closely, and keeping some
" of the natives between myself and them. No-
" thing short of an overpowering force, (which I did
" not possess,) a cold-blooded deliberate treachery,
" (of which I was incapable,) would have enabled
" me to have secured him as he then stood: it was
" perhaps my duty to have attempted his arrest,
" dead or alive; however, considering the circum-
" stances of my situation—I had gone among them
" unarmed—little thinking that the 'Wallace' of
" the tribe was there. He did not relinquish his
" spear till he was certain of my pacific intentions;
" and there were *ten* of them and only three of us.
" I despatched a letter instantly to Mr. Bull, as a
" magistrate, apprising him of Ya-gan's vicinity;
" he went off for the soldiers, and in the mean time
" this proclaimed and dangerous outlaw, with a
" price on his head, and threats (not idle) on his
" tongue, in sight of the military quarters, and of
" a magistrate's residence, hemmed in between
" three or four settlements, and almost in presence
" of a large force of armed men, was suffered to
" escape unmolested. The truth is, every one
" wishes him to be taken, but no one likes to be
" the captor. How could any person, unless a
" professed blood-hunter, spring upon a man in
" cold blood and lead him to the death? How

" could any one, who has a heart, fire upon him " treacherously from a secure bank, though *he* be " an unfeeling and reckless savage? In the even- " ing I heard trampling of horses, and Captains " Irving and Dale arrived. I told the story. They " both galloped off immediately for soldiers. " The government have sent a band of resolute men " here to do their utmost to take him. The man " who commands this party is called ' Hunt,' a " most appropriate name. On one occasion he " followed a party of natives for thirteen days and " nights, thinking it was Ya-gan's tribe; at last " he got into such a situation that the natives at- " tacked his party. He shot the most forward, " who turned out to be Midgegoroo's brother. " Hunt was a constable in London. He has just " been here to request I would send him word if " Ya-gan appears again in this quarter. His party " is to lie perdue at Mr. Bull's for some time.

" May 29th.—I have heard that Ya-gan has been " seen at a house four miles down the river, so " that strong hopes are entertained of his being " shortly taken.

" May 31st.—While I was away the natives " called at Hermitage, but not accompanied by " Ya-gan. One of Midgegoroo's widows was " among them in great grief for the arrest of " her son.

" June 2d.—Old Yellonga, with three women " and children, came here to-day. After he was " gone, Weeip and four others came, one of whom " was Ya-gan's son, and it is probable Ya-gan " was not far away, but aware of the danger of " appearing. I am told they have since expressed " their satisfaction at my conduct, saying that " 'Mitzer Moore was very good man.' Weeip in-

" timated that no injury shall be done in this neigh-
" bourhood; and altogether we hope for peace
" from this friendly nature with them. The women
" were very inquisitive about Midgegoroo and his
" son. About the former I still shook my head,
" and said he ' kill white man.' I told them that
" if they were quiet the boy would come back.
" They seem to have an idea of a spirit ' Goodjot,'
" and another ' Manjut;' for when Naral asked me
" how I got the wound in my head, I pointed up-
" wards solemnly, and said ' Goodjot,' intimating
" that it was a visitation from God. He seemed
" to understand, but said ' Manjut,' as if it came
" from an evil power. I feel great interest in him.
" ....These plaguy natives have stolen one of my
" pigs. They are sad hypocrites, and assured me,
" ' no, no, Mitzer Moore, no steal.' It is dif-
" ficult to ascertain the real fact. I wish it was
" either peace or war between us; but now we
" must not touch them, for by proclamation they
" are declared under the protection of the law as
" British subjects" .. ..
" Each tribe has its distinct ground; and they will
" of course rather adhere to it—dispute its pos-
" session, and take their revenge on the intruders,
" rather than fall back on other tribes of their own
" countrymen, and fight their way inch by inch.
" ..... These savages consider a successful
" piece of theft as a laudable act, and estimate it
" according to the skill displayed in the accom-
" plishment; like the Spartans, who considered
" that the dishonour lay not in the act of robbery,
" but in the discovery of it."....
" The natives have had some row among them-
" selves: one of them have come to tell us that

"Ya-gan is the person who has been doing all the "mischief. That he killed my pig and speared "two of Burgess's, and declared he would kill "cows, sheep, and every living thing he can "come at."....

"June 14th.—I heard that Ya-gan had been "shot."

"16th.—Saw at Mr. Bull's, the head of Ya-gan. "I should have been glad to have got it myself, as "the features were not in the least changed. The "other native was not yet dead when the party "went to look after them. The accidental passing "of two soldiers frightened the natives or they "would have carried off the bodies. Ya-gan had a "particular mark of tatooing over his right shoul- "der and down his back, by which the settlers "recognized him. He wore a soldier's old coat "under his Kangaroo cloak to hide this mark, as he "had been often warned of his danger. This pecu- "liar cicatrix was flayed from the body by the "man who preserved the head. I have rudely "sketched the 'caput mortuum' of Ya-gan, which "was ornamented with a twisted cord round the "forehead."

Such is the story of this noble warrior of the Swan River! The whole transaction not only merits, but demands a comment, and shall have it. As this affair is related in Mr. Moore's letter, it seems to have been a cruel proceeding; but it would be unjust to pronounce any judgment on it; because, in the first place, Martin Doyle publishes the letters under many restrictions; and much may have been necessarily omitted by him in relating the story, which might greatly change its character: in the second place, Mr. Moore himself, in writing pri-

vate letters, may not have given all the circumstances affecting the case; but merely stated a few anecdotes. It is, therefore, but just to the Government of Swan River, and to such of the colonists, as are said, by Mr. Moore, to have thirsted for the blood of a brave man, that defended his country; it is *just*, I say, to them, to suppose, that we have not got hold of the story in a complete form: and the more so, as Mr. Moore seems to be a man of good feeling; and yet does not express disgust with the conduct of some of his fellow colonists in the story he tells, or is made to tell; at the same time, it is incumbent on Mr. Moore, who is the Judge at Swan River Settlement, or Martin Doyle, to say, why soldiers were allowed to fire on unarmed, and unoffending, natives? an action so disgraceful to them, that it is hard to imagine how a detachment could be in such bad order, that the soldiers would *dare* to commit so atrocious an outrage on humanity, even supposing them to be so unmanly, and inhuman, in their disposition, which I do not like to believe was the case. Yet we are not told of any punishment having been inflicted: and Judge Moore terms such a murderous deed "*the indiscretion* of the soldiers." Marry come up, yes! it *was indiscreet;* for British soldiers to fire upon a parcel of unarmed, naked, inoffensive people, "*seven men, one pretty young woman, and two boys!*" I think (except in the sacking of a town) I never heard of any thing more disgraceful and horrible, and have no doubt that Captain Irwin punished, to the full extent of his power, men who had so disgraced human nature, and the character of British soldiers! unless, as I hope is the case, the transaction has been, unintentionally, misstated by

Judge Moore. But the next sentence raises fearful doubts. A ruffian (I hope for the honour of our cloth he was not a soldier) fires at some unoffending natives, without the slightest pretext being given; and exclaims, "*D—n the rascals, I'll show you how we treat them in Van Diemen's Land.*" The brave Ya-gan retaliated; whether the villain who fired succeeded in killing any of the natives, or not, remains unstated in Mr. Moore's book; but Ya-gan was decidedly fully warranted, in doing what he did, by all the laws of war, and of nations, and of human nature, and of courage, and of honour, and of every feeling which animates a brave, and honest man: yet Mr. Moore calls this a "murder!" we have seen that, there was another act to this dreadful drama: Midgegoroo, the father of Ya-gan, was shot for being active in these transactions, which Mr. Moore calls "*murders,*" and which, perhaps, were so; but I must take leave wholly to disagree with him, in using the term "murder," if these deaths were like those of the two carmen; which he is pleased to term a "*murder,*" and which may have been so; but which was *not so,* if his statement be correct. And then, the secret manner of this brave man's execution! If it was *war,* Midgegoroo was a prisoner of war; and his death was unwarrantable: if it was *peace,* and his death called "*legal punishment,*" to strike terror among the natives, why were they not present? but I have already dwelt upon this bloody deed; which reminds me of a little girl who told her father, that she saw a man beating a horse cruelly; "so I made faces at him, papa." Papa said, "and were you not afraid that he "would beat you?" "Oh no, because I turned my "face away so that *he could not see me.*" Really the

people who shot this brave man, acted very like the child! always supposing Martin Doyle not to have made any blunders, which his own works give us no reason to think that he is likely to have done. Well! after this sad work, of making away with Midgegoroo, we find his intrepid son, Ya-gan, (whose uncle had, also, been slain by the invading whites), risking all dangers to gain intelligence whether his father, and little brother, were still alive, or killed by the enemy: and this heroic and filial action, gains for the warrior the epithet of the "*spirit of Evil!*" The scene which took place is well described by Mr. Moore, who evidently did not feel reconciled to the false position in which he, as a man of honour, and kind feeling, was placed. He was in the presence of a brave chief, whose country had been invaded: of a brave man, whose unarmed, and unoffending companions, and even whose WOMEN, had been fired upon; of a brave nephew, whose uncle had been unjustly slain; and, lastly, of a brave and affectionate son, who sought to learn his father's fate! Judge Moore's letters show that he has both a head, and a heart, to estimate the generous feelings of the courageous, and, by his account, eloquent chieftain, in whose presence he stood; and he was evidently embarrassed. It was impossible for him not to have been so. He too, had a father; and he knew that the father of the man, who addressed him, had been put to death: he knew, also, that, in the opinion of the savages, that father was an innocent man—nay more—he knew that he was a man who had died for his country: he knew that the actions committed by the Colonists, and which had provoked retaliation on the part of the savages, would in England, have *placed the per-*

petrators of such a provocation on the gallows! He knew that no pnnishment had followed these deeds; and that the heroic Ya-gan had no redress, no hope of redress from the invaders; of whose injustice (we see by Judge Moore's words) he was fully sensible. Assuredly the Judge was in a false position; and he felt it. He felt that all his logic was powerless: and, in his interesting description of the interview, he justly calls Ya-gan the "*Wallace*" of his tribe. He appears to have been so. And his generosity was no less conspicuous than his courage; for he resolved to have *three whites'* lives, in revenge for his father, his uncle, (perchance, of other relations slain unfairly) and *three whites* were in his power at the moment! a base minded, and treacherous foe (a foe like some of those with whom he had to deal) would have slain Mr. Moore and his two companions. But the high-minded Ya-gan at once saw that he had a frank, and confiding enemy, before him; and he justly separated the character of that enemy, from the character of those who had fired on women and children; as, indeed, he seems before to have done, in sparing Mr. Phillips. The whole conduct of Ya-gan shows that it was not personal fear that restrained him; he resolved to sacrifice his life in revenging his country, and his kindred. He endeavoured so to revenge them, and fell in the attempt! A finer character than that possessed by this man is rarely to be found; and these are the people who we are told "*form the link between men and monkeys,*" men like Midgegoroo; like Mundy; and, above all, like Ya-gan! Mr. Moore seems more justly to have estimated their characters; it is not by him that we find them treated with contempt: he is, naturally, worried, and suffers by their thefts

and mischievous habits; but his good feeling, and good sense, generally prevail. However, it must be admitted, that the system he describes as going on, will end in war, and, consequently, in the extermination of a fine race of men; men ready to be friends with us, if well treated; and to incorporate with us as a people: but much too high spirited to endure our unprovoked cruelty and insolence. The countrymen of Ya-gan will never submit to ill treatment; they will never submit to see their women, and children fired upon; and treated "*as we treat the "rascals in Van Diemen's Land,*" which speech is confirmed by the Van Diemen's Land Almanack for 1833; wherein are stated the endeavours of the various Governors, to prevent the cruelties there practised by individuals, even unto this day. The natives of Van Diemen's Land seem to be *almost* as miserable, and ill used, as the Irish! One more observation shall conclude my notice of the Swan River quarrels with the natives. We find travellers, and people in conversation, speak of Australia, and the savages, as if each tribe of the latter, had the full range of the former; as if it was a country common to all; this is a complete fallacy. When the Romans attacked England, could the painted, naked natives (who were *then* what the Australians are *now*) have retired to Scotland? by no means; they would have met with enemies much worse than the Romans. So it is with the poor Australians. Their country, nearly as large as the whole of Europe, contains many nations, or, as we call them, *tribes;* and these tribes can no more enter each other's dominions, (except by conquest,) than the King of England can take possession of France or Spain. It is, then, nonsense to say "oh! they have plenty of

" room; let them go farther up the country," they cannot do this; and our invasion, as it has been hitherto carried on, is destruction to their happiness, their property, their freedom, and their lives. Our cowardly ancestors, debased by the bolder Italians, that had conquered them were jammed up between the sea, and the warlike barbarians of the North; who, instead of coming with their " twa guineas " and their " twa letters of racommendation " crossed the Tweed with fierce hearts, and sharp swords! The Australians, more noble, and more like what our Islanders were before the Romans debased them, by their civilization, are ready to be friends, if we play fair; but, if we do not, like Ya-gan, they will eventually give battle!

2.

" The natives construct ingenious weirs for " catching fish," which shows that they are capable of improvement in the arts.

3.

" We brought six natives, *at their own request*, " from King George's Sound, to visit Swan River." (A long voyage.) Here we find a confidence placed in our people, which, when carried to such a length, argues that they must have been in the habit of placing confidence in each other's truth.

4.

" The Swan River natives had a row among " themselves, and speared two of their own women " and one man very severely. This occasion " afforded me strong indications of the good feeling " of these people, for I never before witnessed more " genuine sensibility than was manifested by the

" husband of one of the women (a very young and
" pretty one however); though wounded himself he
" bore her in his arms to the hospital, and sat beside
" her all day supporting her on his bosom. I hope
" they will all recover, though some of their wounds
" are deep."

5.

" The natives are rather active than strong, slen-
" der in their limbs, but broad in the chest: though
" generally far from well looking, not deserving the
" epithet hideous which has been applied to them—
" they are quick of apprehension, and capable of
" reflection on the difference between our manners
" and customs and their own, in a degree which
" you would scarcely expect."

Extracts from Mr. Wentworth's Account of New South Wales.

1.

" In stature these people are for the most part
" above the middle size, and yet a very tall person
" is rarely to be met with. In their appearance
" there is no indication of strength. Their limbs
" are uniformly slight: they are, however, all
" muscle, nor do I think that any instance of what
" we should term a fat person was ever seen among
" them. Their agility is in consequence very great,
" and their power of undergoing fatigue almost in-
" exhaustible;* but their natural disposition to
" listlessness and inertion is such that their keen
" cravings of appetite or their love of war can

* Mr. Wentworth, in describing a race of men " above the middle " size " and " *all muscle* " is hardly borne out in saying there is " no indication of strength."

" alone subdue it. Their colour is a dark chocolate. " Their features bear a strong resemblance to those " of the African negroes; they have the same flat " nose, large nostrils, wide mouth, and thick lips; " but their hair is not woolly, except in Van Die- " men's Land, where they have this farther charac- " teristic of the negro. These people bear no " resemblance to any of the inhabitants of the sur- " rounding Islands, except those of New Guinea, " which is only separated from Australia by a narrow " strait."

2.

" Rude and barbarous as are this simple race, " they have still some *confused notions* of a Supreme " Being and of a future state."

What Mr. Wentworth means by " *confused* " *notions* " is beyond my understanding. What but " confused notions " have *we* of God, and a future state? Let him look all over Europe, and behold our various sects! what do they arise from but confused notions? to believe in the Trinity; to have faith; is all that is demanded of us. We declare God to be " *incomprehensible.*" He has never been seen; he has never been described. All we pretend to know is, that a Supreme Being, and a future state, exist. Among our most approved doctrines, there is no attempt to define what God is; or what our future state is to be. We believe the one to be the essence of goodness, and power; the other of happiness. Therefore, if the Australians believe at all in a Supreme Being, and a future state; their notions are as free from confusion as it is possible for any people's notions to be, without revelation; we find that Christianity carefully abstains from

defining: to define, by the authority of our Saviour, would be to impart knowledge, but to destroy faith. Mr. Wentworth, if he admits that these savages believe in a Supreme Being and a future state, must give other reasons to warrant his assertion that, "the Aborigines of this country occupy the lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species:" a scale composed of *individuals;* and not of *nations*, as Mr. W. would seem, by the above sentence, to take for an admitted fact; but which neither he, nor any other man, can prove. If Mr. Wentworth will study the conduct of Ya-gan, and then go to the "Cock-a-doodle-do" House, he will soon find a few men to convince him that the Australians do *not* occupy the "lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species." Let him study the character of Finnow, and his Son; (the Tonga Island Chiefs, as described by my friend Mr. Mariner) and compare these men, with two thirds of the men he meets in England, or elsewhere, and he will, I suspect, admit, that the Creator has cursed no particular nation, or tribe, with intrinsic inferiority of body, or mind; and where we find such inferiority to exist in tribes of savages, it arises from want of education, that is to say, from accident: and we might as well assert that Australia is lowest in the gradatory scale of land, because it is not found full of "corn, "wine, and oil," as use such terms in speaking of the natives. I repeat it; this "gradatory scale" is one composed of individuals; not of nations.

3.

"Disdaining all restraint, their happiness is still "centred in their original pursuits, and they seem "to consider the superior enjoyments to be de-

" rived from civilization (for they are *very far from*
" *being insensible to them*) but a poor compensation
" for the sacrifice of any portion of their natural
" liberty."

4.

We find that Governor Macquarie, like a man of sense, established a school for the Aborigines, amidst '*the sneers and apprehensions*' of the colonists. However, in spite of the sneers of the vagabonds that opposed him, this humane and worthy governor carried his point, and the school has had complete success. " On Tuesday last an
" anniversary school examination took place at
" Parramatta, at which the children of the native
" institution were introduced. Their number not
" exceeding *twenty*—while the number of Euro-
" pean children amounted to nearly *one hundred.*
" Prizes were prepared for distribution among such
" children as should be found to excel in the early
" rudiments of education, moral and religious;
" and it is no less strange" (why Mr. Editor, of the Sydney Gazette?) " than pleasing to remark, in
" answer to an erroneous opinion which had long
" prevailed with many," (query, fools or rogues?)
" viz. that the Aborigines of this country were in-
" susceptible of any mental improvement which
" could qualify them for the purposes of civilized
" association, that a black girl of fourteen years of
" age, between three and four years in the school,
" bore away the second prize with much satisfac-
" tion to the worthy adjudgers and auditors."

In the whole of this transaction, Governor Macquarie did himself great credit, as a man of feel-

ing, and a man of sense: and one who had at heart the honour of his Sovereign.

5.

" The natives possess the faculty of vision be-
" yond any thing I could have conceived. Where
" no impression or marks whatever can be distin-
" guished by the European eye, they will follow
" with unerring precision; as dogs do the scent of
" a hare."

The variety of nations in this fifth continent, is probably great: we find that, even in the small portion which has been explored, our travellers discover different languages, and different people.

" These natives were clothed in cloaks made of
" the skins of the opossum, with their hair bound
" up in nets neatly worked. Their faces were
" daubed after the manner of the natives on the
" eastern coast, with a red and yellow pigment,
" and the front tooth of the upper jaw was wanting
" in the whole of them, which is also the same
" with the coast natives, a sure proof that the
" origin of these aboriginal tribes is the same.
" These natives were stout, well-featured, and
" manly in their appearance, with long black
" beards. Not the slightest analogy could be
" traced by any one of our countrymen between
" these people and the natives of the coast." Mr. Wentworth mentions a curious fact; that, though we have occupied this country for above half a century, no European has learned the native languages, whereas, " we seldom or never meet with
" any of the coast natives who cannot readily enter
" into conversation with us in our own tongue.
" Most of them indeed speak English with a

" fluency and absence of idiomatic accent really " astonishing." On another occasion the exploring party finds the whole appearance of the country changed, and, also, that of the natives. " Their " appearance was most miserable, their features " approached deformity; their persons were dis- " gusting and filthy; their small attenuated limbs " seemed scarcely able to support their bodies; " and their entire person formed, a marked contrast " to the fine and manly figures of their brethren " in the interior." So far Mr. Wentworth.

Let us now hear what others say about these people.

Account given to me by a Friend.

" The savages came down to our house, they " killed all our pigs, and eat of them till they were " satisfied; they then lay down in a circle to sleep. " After awhile one of them got up, and going into " the middle of the circle, imitated the animals, " from the moment of being caught, till the last " kick of poor piggy in his agonies: all his con- " vulsions, his squeaks, his groans, his grunts, " his dying; all were exhibited in perfection by " the actor, whose wild audience were convulsed " with laughter." This shows that the Australians have some fun in them; and adds one more to the number of proofs which exist of their capacity; and of the stupidity of those, who pretend, that these people are below the rest of the world in the scale of intellect. Nobody says that Matthews is below the rest of the world in point of capacity; and this fellow is just the " *Mathews at home*," of

his tribe, that is to say, a man who, in addition to the ordinary talents possessed by his neighbours, has that of putting every thing in a ridiculous point of view, for the amusement of others. But it has pleased Providence, besides giving us these clever pleasant fellows, like Mathews and Blacky, to help us through "this vale of tears," also, to send into the world, as an offset to these merry men, a sort of *human bag*, with a nob, and two legs, and two dangling arms. This bag, or sack, contains a vast quantity of well chewed, and well digested bread, and meat, and cheese, and performs various animal functions, in a mechanical way; and when the sack is not so employed, it (having a tongue) gives opinions, as if, by a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, it had brains. This sort of digester, or chewed food sack, is sometimes a colonial secretary —sometimes a colonial governor—sometimes a colonist, and, as its whole idea of intellect in others is confined to its estimate of their capacity to supply its wants, it settles that any savages, who will not patiently endure its amiable practices, and administer to its refined appetites, are below the rest of God's creation: and such is the description of person that Mr. Wentworth describes, when in speaking of Colonel Macquarie's native school, he says, "when this seminary was first established "many *gentlemen (?)* whose long residence in the "colony, and consequent opportunities of acquaint-"ance with the character and capabilities of the "Aboriginal tribes, gave their opinion consider-"able weight, expressed their doubts as to the "success of this institution, and contrived," (the sacks are full of what is called cunning,) "to "imbue a *great proportion of the colonists* with a

" similar apprehension, and this experiment *was*, " *in consequence*, considered for a while as one of " those visionary projects for the melioration of the " human species which are incapable of realization, " and serve only to evince the philanthropy of those " who originate them. These gentlemen" (the " sacks) " assumed as the basis of their calculation, " that the propensities of the fathers were an he- " reditary failing which must descend to the chil- " dren," and Mr. Wentworth adds, with the just feelings of a man of sense, " forgetting that man " is in all ages and countries the creature of ac- " cident, and that his habits and inclinations are " the results of education, not of any innate su- " periority or defect." I perfectly agree with Mr. Wentworth in this, and can only account for his former observation, which describes the natives to " hold the lowest place in the gradatory scale of the human species," as a mere slip of the pen, put in, from hearing the absurdity so often repeated by the sacks, but Mr. Wentworth is evidently too liberal, and too enlightened a gentleman to believe that any *race* of men are abased, and degraded by nature. There *are* sacks, but they are *individual sacks*, not *races of sacks*, not *nations of sacks*.

Extracts from Captain Sturt's Expeditions into Southern Australia.

1.

" At sight of us, four of the natives ran away, " but the fifth, who wore a cap of emu's feathers, " stood about twenty paces from Mr. Hume, who " was endeavouring to explain what he was, but

" seeing me approach, he immediately poized his " spear at me as being the nearest. Mr. Hume " then unslung his carabine and presented it, but " as it was evident my appearance had startled the " savage, I pulled up and he immediately lowered " his weapon. His coolness and courage surprised " me, and increased my desire to communicate " with him. He had evidently taken both man and " horse for one animal, and as long as Mr. Hume " remained on his seat, the native remained on his " guard, but when he saw him dismount, after the " first astonishment had subsided, he stuck his " spear into the ground and walked fearlessly up " to him. We easily made him comprehend that " we were in search of water; when he pointed to " the west, as indicating that we should supply " our wants there. He gave his information in a " frank manly way, without the least embarrass- " ment, and when the party parted, he stepped " back to avoid the animals, without the smallest " confusion. I am sure he was a very brave man; " and I left him with the most favourable im- " pressions, *and not without a hope that he would* " *follow us.*" How different are Captain Sturt's feelings, from the feelings of those who " *cried loudly for the blood of Ya-gan!*" Had Captain Sturt been at Swan River when Ya-gan was alive, he would have assumed the ascendant, and ruled the whole tribe through the agency of that bold savage.

2.

" We had on this occasion a remarkable instance " of the docility of the natives of the interior, or of " the power they have of subduing their appre- " hensions manifesting the opposite extremes of fear

" and confidence. Those men, who no doubt ima-
" gined that we were about to destroy them, never
" having seen white men before, must have taken us
" for something preternatural: yet from the extre-
" mity of fear that had prompted them to set their
" woods in flames, they in a brief space so completely
" subdued those fears as to approach those very
" beings who had so strongly excited their alarm.
" The savage who had been the principal actor in
" one scene, was an elderly man. I know not how
" it was, but I regarded him with peculiar interest.
" Mr. Hume's manners, in a great measure, con-
" tributed to allay his evident agitation; but from
" the moment I approached him, I thought there
" was a shade of anxiety upon his brow and an
" expression of sorrow over his features, the cause
" of which did not originate with us. I could see
" in a moment that his bosom was full even to
" bursting, and he received at once our sympathy
" and our protection, although we were ignorant of
" that which oppressed him.....As his tribe
" gathered courage to join him, the old chief threw
" a melancholy glance upon them, and endeavoured
" as much as he could to explain the cause of that
" affliction which, as I had rightly judged, weighed
" heavily upon him. A violent cutaneous disease
" raged throughout the tribe, that was sweeping
" them off in great numbers. He called several
" young men who had been attacked by this sin-
" gular malady. Nothing could exceed the anxiety
" of his explanations, or the mild and soothing tone
" in which he addressed his people, and it really
" pained me that I could not assist him in his dis-
" tress. Some of the men after our appearance had
" painted themselves, most likely in *preparing for*

" *the combat* in which they fancied they would be " engaged. They did not leave us till we passed " the place to which their women had retired."

3.

" The natives on the Darling are a clean-limbed " well-conditioned race, generally speaking. Their " customs, as far as we could judge, were similar " to those of the Mountain Blacks, but their lan- " guage differs. In appearance these men are " stouter in the bust than at the lower extremities; " broad noses, sunken eyes, overhanging eye-brows, " and thick lips. The men are much better look- " ing than the women; both go perfectly naked, if " I except the former, who wear nets over their " loins and across the forehead. Their hunting " and fishing nets are of great length, and made " upon large frames. These people do not appear " to have warlike habits—nor do they take pride " in their arms."

4.

" Two Irish runaways with two dogs tried to " make their way to Timor; they met the Mount " Harris tribe, who wanted to take their dogs. " The Irishmen resisted—a quarrel ensued; before " the blacks proceeded to extremities, they furnish- " ed the Irishmen, who were unarmed, with wea- " pons, and then told them to defend themselves, " but whether against equal or inferior numbers, I " am uninformed. One of them soon fell, which " the other observing, he took his knife out and cut " the throats of both dogs before the blacks had " time to put him to death—both men were eaten " by the tribe generally. I questioned several on

" the subject, but they preserved the most sullen " silence, neither acknowledging nor denying the " fact." I cannot understand how Captain Sturt ascertained the particulars of this story; he says, also, that these people were in a pitiable state of starvation, which may account for this act of cannibalism, his words are as follows: " we found " the unfortunate creatures reduced to the last " extremity, and feeding on the gum of the " mimosa." The fact does not seem perfectly ascertained: if true, it seems accounted for by famine, and by no means to be a general practice. Finally, savages will do horrible things, as well as civilized folks. The ruffians who packed three hundred blacks chained between decks, three feet asunder, each black sitting between the legs of another, till their bodies, dead and alive, were jammed into a *solid mass of flesh*, for a voyage across the Atlantic, were quite a match for the starving Australians, that eat the Irishmen; yet who would judge our whole marine by the conduct of the crew of this slaver? These horrid things are not samples by which to condemn nations; and among those, that inhabit Australia, if there be some cannibals, still the practice of eating human flesh is not general. And, even if it were so, it presents no insurmountable obstacle to their improvement in cookery, while it affords a strong motive to induce the attempt. In one author I find it stated, that our own runaway convicts eat human flesh as well as the natives. *Hunger* and *habit* reconcile men to any, and to every horrible deed.

5.

" One poor fellow had two ducks in his hand,

" which he had just taken off the fire, these he
" offered to us.....Two natives followed us,
" calling loudly to us. *They evidently wished to*
" *save us distress,* seeing we were going away from
" the direction of the water."

6.

" It was quite dark when I heard a call from the
" hill. I desired Hopkinson to take his firelock,
" and see what the man wanted. He returned
" with a blanket that had been stolen. The native
" was alone, and when he offered the blanket, kept
" his spear poised in his right hand, but seeing no
" violence was intended him, he lowered his wea-
" pon and walked away. I was extremely pleased
" at this trait of honesty, and determined to reward
" it. About eight next morning the natives made
" their appearance upon the hill, and seemed
" doubtful whether to approach nearer. I went
" out to them, and with a downward motion of my
" hand beckoned for them to come to me. They
" mistook the signal, but laid all their spears upon
" the ground, and it was not till after the sign had
" been reversed that they stirred, or moved towards
" us. I then got them in a row, and desired Hop-
" kinson to single out the man who had given him
" the blanket. It was, however, with great diffi-
" culty that he recognized him, as the man stood
" firm and motionless. At length, after walking
" two or three times along the line, he stopped be-
" fore one man, and put his hand upon his shoulder,
" upon which the manner of the native testified as
" to the correctness of his guess. The blanket
" being produced, I explained to the savage that I
" was highly pleased with him, and presented him

" with a tomahawk and a clasp knife. The tribe
" were perfectly aware of the reason of my conduct,
" and all of them seemed highly delighted. I was
" happy in having such an opportunity of shewing
" the natives of the interior that I came among
" them with a determination to maintain *justice in*
" *my communication with them*, and to impress them
" at the same time with a sense of our love of it in
" them. *That they appreciated my apparent lenity*
" *in not calling for the defaulter I am sure*, and I
" feel perfectly conscious that I should have failed
" in my duty had I acted otherwise than I did."
Yes; Captain Sturt did act in this, and, apparently, in *all* his dealings with the natives, as became a British officer, and an honest man; that is to say, firmly, humanely, and justly; he did not commit aggressions, and then treat the natives as criminals, because they showed a manly and most honourable spirit of resistance: a resistance which we praise in the native of the Tyrol, because it was against the Emperor Napoleon—which we praise in the native of Poland, because it was against the Emperor Nicholas,—but which we condemn in the native of Australia because it is against the oppression of a handful of English settlers, who use arms against the unarmed! However the English are not to be condemned because certain colonists in Australia have behaved with stupidity, cruelty, and injustice. Neither are all the settlers to be condemned; among whom, no doubt, there are many who would have acted like Captain Sturt.

7.

" One of the blacks being anxious to get an
" opossum out of a dead tree, every branch of

" which was hollow, asked for a tomahawk; with
" which he cut a hole in the trunk above where he
" thought the animal lay concealed. He found,
" however, that he had cut too low, and that it had
" run up higher. He therefore got some dry grass,
" and having kindled a fire, stuffed it into the hole
" he had cut. A raging fire soon kindled in the
" tree when the draft was great, and a dense co-
" lumn of smoke issued from the ends of each
" branch as thick as that from the chimney of a
" steam-engine. The shell of the tree was so thin
" that I thought it would soon be burnt through,
" and that the tree would fall; but the black had
" no such fears, and ascending to the highest
" branch, he watched, anxiously, for the poor little
" wretch he had thus surrounded with dangers and
" devoted to destruction; and no sooner did it ap-
" pear, half singed and half roasted, than he seized
" upon it and threw it down to us with an air of
" triumph. The effect of the scene in a lonely
" forest was very fine. The roaring of the fire in
" the tree, the fearless attitude of the savage, and
" the associations which his colour and appearance,
" enveloped as he was in smoke, called up, were
" singular, and still dwell on my recollection. We
" had not long left the tree when it fell with a tre-
" mendous crash."

8.

" When we halted on this part of the Morum-
" bidgee river we had forty-one natives with us.
" They allowed us to choose a place before they
" formed their own camp, and studiously avoided
" encroaching on our ground so as to appear trou-
" blesome. Their manners were those of a quiet,

" inoffensive people, and their appearance in some
" measure prepossessing. The old men had lofty
" foreheads and stood exceedingly erect. The
" young men were cleaner in their persons than
" any we had seen, some of them having smooth
" hair and an almost Asiatic cast of countenance.

9.

" We saw a large body of natives. They show-
" ed every disposition for combat; and ran along
" the bank of the river with spears in rests, as if
" only waiting for an opportunity to throw them at
" us.....The whole then followed us with-
" out any symptom of fear, but making a dreadful
" shouting and beating their spears and shields
" together by way of intimidation. It is but justice
" to my men to say that in this critical situation
" they evinced the greatest coolness, though it was
" impossible for any one to witness such a scene
" with indifference. I held out an olive-branch to
" them in token of amity. They at length laid
" aside their spears, and a long consultation took
" place among them, which ended in two or three
" wading into the river, contrary, as it appeared, to
" the earnest remonstrances of the majority, who,
" finding that their intreaties had no effect, wept
" aloud, and followed them with a determination, I
" am sure, of sharing their fate, whatever it might
" have been. As soon as they reached our banks,
" M'Leay and I retired to a little distance and sat
" down, that being the usual way among the na-
" tives of the interior to invite to an interview.
" When they saw us act thus, they approached and
" sat down by us, but without looking up, from a
" kind of diffidence peculiar to them, and which

" exists among the nearest relations. They are " undoubtedly a *brave and a confiding people*, and " are by no means wanting in natural affection. " In person they resemble the mountain tribes. " They had the thick lips, sunken eye, extended " nostrils, and long beards; and both smooth and " curly hair are common among them. Their lower " extremities appear to bear no proportion to their " bust in point of muscular strength, but the facility " with which they ascend trees of the largest " growth, and the activity with which they move " upon all occasions, together with their singularly " erect stature, argue that such appearance is en- " tirely deceptive."

10.

" It was with considerable apprehension that I " observed the river shoaling fast,—a huge sand- " bank projected nearly a third of the way across " the river,—to this sand-bank they run with " tumultuous uproar, and covered it over in a " dense mass. Some of the chiefs advanced into " the water to be nearer their victims. The spec- " tacle we had witnessed had been one of the most " appalling kind, and sufficient to shake the firm- " ness of most men; but at that trying moment my " little band preserved their temper and coolness, " determined on an obstinate resistance. Thus " prepared, we lowered sail and drifted onwards " with the current; as we neared the sand-bank, I " stood up and made signs to the natives to desist, " but without success. I took up my gun, there- " fore, and had brought it down to a level, when " M'Leay checked me, and observed that another " party had made their appearance on the left bank

" of the river. Turning round, I saw four men at " the top of their speed; the foremost, as soon as " he got ahead of the boat, threw himself from a " considerable height into the water. He strug- " gled across the channel to the sand-bank, and in " an incredibly short space of time stood in front " of the savage against whom my aim had been " directed. Seizing him by the throat, he pushed " him backwards, and forcing all who were in the " water upon the bank, he trod its margin with a " vehemence and agitation that were exceedingly " striking. At one moment pointing to the boat; " at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces " of the most forward, and stamping with passion " upon the sand; his voice, that was at first dis- " tinct and clear, was lost in hoarse murmurs. " Two of the four natives remained on the left " bank of the river, but the third followed his " leader (who proved to be the remarkable savage " I have previously noticed) to the scene of action. " The reader will imagine our feelings on this " occasion: it is impossible to describe them. . . . " All wrangling now ceased, and in a quarter of " an hour we were peacefully surrounded by the " hundreds who had so lately threatened us with " destruction. There could not have been less " than six hundred upon that blackened sward. " But this was not the only occasion upon which " the merciful superintendence of that Providence " to which we had humbly committed ourselves " was strikingly manifested."

11.

" There was a young girl among them of a most cheerful disposition. She was about eighteen,

" well made, and really pretty. This girl was mar-
" ried to an elderly man, who had broken his leg,
" which having united in a bent position, the limb
" was almost useless. I really believe the girl
" thought we could cure her husband from her im-
" portunate manner to us. I regretted that I could
" do nothing for the man, but to show that I was
" not inattentive to her intreaties, I gave him a pair
" of trousers, and desired Fraser to put them upon
" him; but the poor fellow cut so awkward an ap-
" pearance in them that his wife became quite dis-
" tressed, and Fraser was obliged to disencumber
" him from them again."

12.

" Just at this moment, however, without our
" being aware of their approach, a large tribe of
" natives with their spears lined the banks, and
" took us most completely by surprise. At no time
" during this anxious journey were we ever so
" completely in their power or in so defenceless a
" situation. It rained so hard that our firelocks
" would have been of no use had they attacked us,
" and we must have been slaughtered without com-
" mitting the least execution upon them. It re-
" quired only one strong effort to get the boat into
" still water for a time, but that effort was beyond
" our strength, and we stood in the stream power-
" less and exhausted. The natives in the mean-
" while, resting on their spears, watched us with
" earnest attention. One of them, who was sitting
" close to the water, at length called to us, and we
" immediately recognized the deep voice of him to
" whose singular interference we were indebted for
" our escape on the 23d of January." They all

assisted, and our travellers got through their difficulties.

13.

" I had scarcely lain down five minutes, when " Harris called out, ' the blacks are close to me, " sir; shall I fire at them?' ' How far are they?' " I asked. ' Within ten yards, sir.' ' Then fire,' " said I, and he did so. M'Leay and I jumped up " to his assistance. ' Well, Harris,' said I, ' did " you kill your man?' (He is a remarkably good " shot.) ' No, sir,' said he, ' *I thought you would* " *repent it, so I fired between the two.*' I was " much pleased at the coolness of my servant as " well as his consideration.....In the morning we found that the natives had all left their " ponderous spears, which we burnt; we were surprised to find that our friend" (one of the natives who had before assisted the party) " had left every " thing in like manner behind him; his spears, his " nets, and his tomahawk; but as he had kept so " wholly aloof from the other blacks, I thought it " highly improbable that he had joined them," (in their attacks) " and the men were of opinion that " he had retreated across the plain into the wood. " I took his spears and tomahawk and walked " across the plain into the wood, where I saw a " group, one of whom rose up and met me, and I " recognized the man sought. I stuck his spears " upright into the ground; the poor man stood " thunderstruck; he moved not; he spoke not; " neither did he raise his eyes from the ground. I " kept the tomahawk out of sight, I now offered " it to him. He gave a short exclamation as his " eyes caught sight of it, but he refused to

" grasp the tomahawk, which accordingly fell to
" the ground. I had evidently excited the man's
" feelings. . . . . His two wives came up, to whom,
" after pointing to the spears and tomahawk, he
" said something, and they both, instantly, *burst*
" *into tears, and wept aloud.*"

I could extract more from Captain Sturt's interesting account of his exploring expedition down the Murray, and his, still more interesting, return up that river, but those which I have here given are sufficient for the purpose I had in view; namely, to show that the aborigines of Australia have plenty of fine qualities, which fit them for social order; and that instead of being, as has been falsely asserted, " the lowest in the scale of human beings," they are as highly gifted by the Creator, both in body and mind, as we are ourselves.

In reading these extracts, how noble do the characters of Captain Sturt and his party appear, when compared with those of the Swan River settlers, as described by Mr. Moore! How strong the contrast between Captain Sturt's servant Harris, and the ruffian who *(apparently with impunity)* fired upon unarmed, unoffending, and helpless men, women, and children, at the Swan River settlement! The soldier Harris, alone outside of the tent—in the desert—at night—a whole tribe armed and creeping upon him through the dusk—within ten yards of him—a dozen spears, for aught he knew, at that moment poised to transfix him—yet he fired not, till ordered, and *then* would not shed blood, lest his master should repent of having ordered a fellow-creature to be slain! Harris had lived eighteen years with Captain Sturt, and acted upon a full knowledge of that officer's character. The whole

transaction reflects the highest honour upon these two thorough-bred soldiers. Was it fear of provoking the vengeance of the savages that prevented Harris from destroying one of them? No! to fire *at all* was sufficient to have enraged his opponents: his firing *between* them exhibited the coolness of a gallant, and the feeling of a good heart. But Captain Sturt ordered him to fire! yes, he did order Harris to fire, and he did right: but he did not give the order till he had ascertained that the enemy was close upon, and might destroy, his faithful servant. It is in such moments that noble characters appear. Had the ill-used, and unhappy Ya-gan, fallen in with such men as Sturt, and his followers, he would have met with kindred spirits; men whose own courage would have taught them, justly, to estimate his. Ya-gan would have lived. As it was, he fell; for men, of his high temper, hold it better to die bravely, than to live unrevenged.

To the above extracts I will add some from Lieutenant Cowper Rose's "*Four Years in Southern Africa*," which show, that the same style of treating the natives that is pursued in Australia, and in Van Diemen's Land, pervades other colonies. This engineer officer takes a just view of our conduct towards savages, as we term all people that do not wear tight leather breeches, and flannel petticoats, under a vertical sun. These extracts will show, that towards those, who cannot *effectually resist*, our conduct is very unjust and cruel. I often think of what an old North American Indian once said to me, "Colonel, when the English want us to scalp the Americans they give us blankets, but when they do not want us, they give us no blankets! We Indians ask one another, why is this?

last winter *very cold winter indeed*; but, no war against America; no blankets for poor Indian! This winter *not so cold*, but then—war—and plenty blankets! King Georgey then give blankets 'cause he hate Americans, not 'cause he love Indian! Indian never make more war for Georgey, but for self." And so it is every where: we treat the natives as it suits our convenience; not according to the dictates of justice: if our convenience calls for *cruelty*, we give the poor devils full measure. We never bestow a full measure of *justice*.

Extracts from "Four Years in Southern Africa," by Cowper Rose.

"There are households in which the slaves are "happy under judicious kindness, I believe; but this "is owing to the favoured nature of the master or "mistress; it is not the consequence of, but the excep- "tion to, the system; for in general, every state of "society in which much is trusted to the humanity of "man is bad. It is said, and I believe with truth, "that the slaves are almost always vicious. The mas- "ters should be cautious in using this argument, for "they generally give the first lesson of crime to the "young females; and drunkenness, the vice of the "men, is almost pardonable in a race rendered "brutal by severity, and who have no escape "from hardship, save in degraded insensibility. It "is urged too, that they are ungrateful: poor "wretches! their opportunities are not frequent, "for that which a master considers kindness toward "a slave is frequently but the effort of momentary "caprice—nothing that influences general conduct "or merits gratitude. Even slavery, however, has

" some advantages to counterbalance a load of evils : " the slave never knows the extreme want felt " frequently by the labouring class in Ireland." Alas, poor Ireland ! wherever we meet with a picture of wretchedness, the Irishman is still in the foreground ; always the most prominent figure ! The African slave is ill used : so is the Irishman. All other slaves are fed. The Irishman is *not* fed ! but no matter—let injustice, cruelty, and starvation, run riot in Ireand. " *We are the most wealthy nation* " *in the world*," that is enough : let us go to dinner, and drink " *The immortal memory of King William* " *the Third, who saved us from Popery, slavery, and* " *wooden shoes.*" The devil he did ! out of eight millions of people there are seven millions of papists ! he did not then save us from Popery. As to slavery, look at the Whig Coercion Bill ! at the Protestant Church ! But the wooden shoes ! Lord bless us, aye, I forgot the wooden shoes ; but if he saved us from wooden shoes, he gave us no other shoes ! he left Pat in his " *stocking feet*," or rather in his feet, without either shoes or stockings ! Are we to drink his health for that ? oh, no ; I think not. Then what *did* he do ? why the most remarkable actions of his life were, that he dethroned his father-in-law—caused a horrible massacre at Glencoe, in Scotland—and, with the help of a bishop, created a debt which is now galling us : not to mention a legacy of Orangemen who seem fit for Bedlam, by seeking to force on a crisis that must destroy them. In short he saved us from nothing but getting shoes ! So it seems we don't owe him much, after all ; and, I suspect, that the more we examine into his character, the less we shall find to admire in this Dutch hero.

2.

" I do not consider the Kaffers a cruel or vin-
" dictive people. The policy adopted towards
" them has been severe, *for when did Europeans*
" *respect the rights of the savage?* By the Dutch
" Border farmers, over whom their Government had
" little control, they are said to have been slaugh-
" tered without mercy—to have been destroyed as
" they destroyed the wolf. At no time since the
" English have been in possession has wanton
" cruelty been committed, but the natives have been
" at different times driven back from boundary to
" boundary, and military posts have been established
" in the country from which we have expelled them.
" Orders too have been issued that all *appearing*
" *within the proclaimed line should be shot.* Some of
" the old chiefs now inhabit, with their tribes, tracts
" a hundred and fifty miles further back than their
" former lands: and when one of them, St'lamby,
" who occupied the country near Uitenage, was
" ordered to quit, he simply and affectingly said
" 'that his fathers had eaten the wild honey of
" those hills, and he saw not why he should leave
" them.'.....In 1810 the Great Fish River
" was proclaimed the eastern limit of the colony.
" In 1820, Gaika, a powerful chief whom we had
" aided in his wars, was obliged to evacuate an
" extent of rich land lying between that river and
" the Keiskanna. On this occasion he is said to
" have remarked, 'that though indebted to the
" English for his existence as a chief, yet when he
" looked upon the fine country taken from him he
" could not but think his benefactors oppressive.'
" It is not strange that the savages should be unable

"to see the justice of all this; that they should be "troublesome neighbours to the settlers in a country "of which they had been dispossessed. They were "so: such instances were exaggerated, and a com-"mando (an inroad of military and boors) was the "frequent consequence. The crimes were *indi-"vidual*, but the punishment was *general*. The "duty of the commando was to destroy, to burn the "habitations, and to singe the cattle; and they did "their duty. When these circumstances are con-"sidered, it cannot excite surprise that there should "have been acts of sudden and cruel vengeance; "though it may, that they should not have been "in a country where they are so easily perpetrated, "the thick jungle affording concealment to the "ambush, and it being only necessary to drag the "body into the bush, and to leave it for the wolves "to efface all traces of the death. I hate the policy "that turns the English soldier into the cold-"blooded butcher of the unresisting native. I hate "it even when by the calculator it might be con-"sidered expedient; but here it is as stupid as it "is cruel. . . . . But the period of oppres-"sion is now past; never, I trust, to return; for "the present policy pursued towards the natives is "humane and honourable."

3.

"I saw a white Kaffer among Enno's tribe; and, "on inquiry, found it was the son of the chief; "and heard that on Enno being teased about his "colour, and hints thrown out of unfair play on the "part of his wife, he laughed it off and asked if "they had never known a black cow have a white "calf. Enno was once at the Landdrost's house,

" and in order to see its effects upon him, a lady " was seated at the pianoforte playing a simple air, " when the old man, who was listening intently, " suddenly stopped her, saying, 'That is enough, it " reminds me of the loss of my child, and it tells " me I should go home and cry.' The *child* to " whom he alluded, and to whose death Enno often " recurs, was *shot on some occasion by the Cape* " *corps.*"

4.

" It did not strike me that the savage tribes are " improved by the intercourse with us that has " been opened by the fair that is held at Fort Wilt- " shire, the frontier post. Gaika was there, and it " was not without interest that I looked on one of " whom Barrow had prognosticated so highly. He " was then nineteen, he is now fifty, and melancholy " has been the change that has taken place in the " interval. The English have given him their " protection and with it their vices, and he is a sunk " and degraded being—a wretched savage, despised " and suspected by his tribe; continually intoxi- " cated, and even ready to sell his wives for brandy. " Such are the fruits of our protection! such have " ever been the effects on the savage of the *kindness* " of the civilized! If we find them simple and " trusting, we leave them treacherous; if we find " them temperate, we leave them drunkards; and, " in after years, a plea for their destruction is " founded on the very vices they have learned from " us!"

Such are the opinions formed on the spot by an unprejudiced, and well educated British officer; and it is to be regretted, that Mr. Rose has not

entered more elaborately into the subject of our policy towards the Kaffers; and, (which is more important,) given us all the details of the treatment which the native tribes receive at the hands of the frontier settlers; for this is the *practical* part. A governor may issue humane orders—any one can give orders—but what the public want, is to know. *how those orders are obeyed.* Mr. Rose appears to be just the man to tell us this—possessing impartial views and an independent mind; one, who on seeing a savage kill a civilized man, ventures to inquire, which gave the first provocation: a man who considers what is *just;* and not whether the parties are black or white, wear clothes or go naked, and thinks, that though there may be no clothes like ours, or even none at all, *over* the skin, there are feelings, exactly like ours, *under* it! If savages could write books, we should have a pretty history of our cruelties in the colonies! not quite so bad as that of the Irish, by the "*Protestant boys,*" but very near it. However, I will not say much about Ireland again; there is no occasion. The Whigs and Tories are getting *frightened;* and we see, by the debates on Poor Laws for that country, that the horrors are now coming out, and mentioned as if they had only *just taken place!* as if Ireland was but just discovered; just brought from the North Pole by Captain Ross! and as if those, who pretend to speak with such tender feelings for her suffering, were not the *identical men* that have *caused* all these miseries!—were not the men (Whig and Tory) who have ruled her for half a century! Well! heaven defend us from men whose pretensions to be "statesmen" seem to be on a par with that savage's pretensions to modesty, that,

(in admiration of English propriety) thought to cover his nakedness by taptooing a pair of breeches upon his person: waist-band, flap, knee-buckles, knee-buttons, seams, were all minutely pourtrayed. He was as proud as possible, and fancied that the ridicule of the world was but envy; its laughter, only admiration. However the poor savage's folly did no harm, he was not a Secretary of State, or a Lord Lieutenant; and if the taptooed breeches did not *clothe* him, at least it did not *strip others;* but a taptooed *statesman* is a fearful animal! I shall now close my defence of the savages, by observing on the real hard-heartedness of many men, arising, not from badness of disposition, so much as from laziness, and timidity of character. They dread the disapprobation of their associates, and they fear this will be produced by making an inquiry into acts of villany with which, possibly, these associates may be mixed up. Men, who live in the heart of civilized life, in a snug state of ease, and the enjoyments of all their little comforts (their only hardship, the folded rose-leaf of the Sybarite,) have little knowledge of the horrors, that the spreading edges of civilization inflict in their biting encroachments upon barbarism; indeed, civilization is savage beyond belief, *to the defenceless*, even in its very bosom! The fact is, that the civilized man is as cruel as the savage man, only his cruelties are *different*, and more concealed. The barbarian thinks that to kill is no wrong, and openly slays; the civilized man is more secret. Franklin and Talleyrand have told us the use of our two great boasts, *reason* and *speech*. The first said, that the use of *reason* is to reconcile crime to our conscience; the last says, that the use of *speech* is to conceal our thoughts!

With two such agents, (I don't mean Franklin and Talleyrand) no wonder that the devil's affairs go on thrivingly! The savage, who acts upon the impulse of the moment, has not the same use for either reason or speech; he, therefore, goes to work more boldly. Franklin, to whose conduct his joke was not the index, would have done well among savages, and, probably, would have ruled them. While Talleyrand, whose conduct has been "*une piece justicative*" to his joke, would, among savages, have had his brains knocked out very soon; but among the civilized, he is admired, courted, and feared for his hypocrisy. Here then we have a sort of measure for savages and civilized folks.

I have said, that the civilized man is as cruel as the savage; but that his cruelties are of a different description. Let me analyze this matter. The savage man, if angry, kills; and sometimes, with a spirit of vengeance, he tortures; but it is always his avowed enemy that he treats in this manner. The moment he gets hold of a foe, that foe dies; all is above the board; and, sometimes, *on the board*, for he often eats him! This, to us, is very disgusting; (so is our eating of animals to some barbarians.) However, as Mr. Rose says, it has the great advantage of saving the expense and inconvenience of a commissariat; while we are told (by the best gastronomical authorities in New Zealand,) that the meat is of the finest quality, and flavour, if the victim be about twenty-five years of age, and it is said, that our runaway convicts, in Australia, take very kindly to this sort of food! Now, putting all lightness aside, I will seriously ask, whether forcing a child to work, till it becomes a miserable cripple, and after years of great suffering, sinks

into an early grave; and all this, for the sake of that damnable thing called "national wealth,"—I seriously ask, whether this is not more cruel in both the degree of pain inflicted, and the extent of the evil, than it is to kill that child at once, and eat, or dissect, or do any disgusting thing with its body? Here then we see deeds of the savage, and the civilized; both terrible, but *different*. The child-killing manufacturer is worse than the child-eating savage, but the operation not being so evident, so nasty, and so *offensive to the sight*, it is allowed to pass; and any man who applies the just epithets to the cruelty, and to its authors, is run down, called "violent," "vulgar," accused of "a want of tact," and so forth! When our SAVIOUR made a whip, and lashed the creators of national wealth, in those days, out of the temple, I have no doubt that, *fashionable*, Jerusalem rang with his "violence," and "want of tact!" His tact was in the *right place*, which, in the fashionable world, is the way to be accused of the want of it. But if we hear of a Kaffer chief, bouncing in upon a village, and cutting the throats of its inhabitants; then we exclaim, "oh! the monster! pray don't tell us; it curdles our blood," and such fiddle faddle sensibility; while the same lady or gentleman, takes up the newspaper, and reads of hundreds, and thousands, expiring for want of food in Ireland, coolly observing that "it is very odd! these Irish are eternally starving;" as if the unhappy sufferers did it on purpose; a sort of habit, a trick to back up O'Connell, and worry the Government! In short, (to wind up my reverie,) the savage is a London *butcher*, and the civilized man, like a London *lady*; both butcher, and lady, being equally injurious to the comfort of an Essex calf! The

lady exclaims, when she hears of the poor calf dying the death of Seneca, " good God, how horrible!" and makes a wry face: but the devil a bit of veal will she buy, if it be not *white!* The truth is, that *she*, and not the butcher, is the author of all the calf's sufferings. I do not say that this is wrong; I only claim the justice of defending the butcher, and the savage, against the calf-eating fine lady, and the civilized member of parliament, who makes children " feel that they are dying." The philosopher, when he fancies civilization produces humanity, only shuts his eyes. *He* may be humane, and he fancies that civilization is humane; but, as far as we have yet seen of the world, this is not altogether true. There is cruelty, and kindness, in man's nature; and these qualities I believe exist, pretty nearly in the same proportions, in all states of society; only taking different forms. While all the horrors of savage life are blazoned forth, and set in bloody array, the good, and heroic actions are very rarely recorded; the savage *cannot* describe them, and the civilized man *will not:* because such deeds are, generally, done to oppose our injustice, and cruelty; and, of course, we do not proclaim our own villany. Generally speaking, the heroic death of a savage has no witness but his civilized murderer, who, without danger of contradiction, describes an Alfred as a Nero! That civilization has *some* great advantages over the savage state, I will not deny: if we " *tot up*" there would be a balance in our favour: for example; we fight better: Savages cannot cast cannon: but in point of humanity, I confess, I have great doubts of our superiority. We talk of it a great deal; boast of it; and this, like possession, is " nine points of the law;" we *dilute* our cruelty; we

don't dabble in blood, quite so openly; our *new drop* is more cleanly and civilized, than to mammoc a man's brains all about (like raspberry jam) with a great club: and that is pretty nearly as much as we can say, I think, in favour of our boasted humanity. "But we have abolished slavery," says the defender of civilization. Yes, we have; and I admit that no savage nation would do this; but not so fast, friend, —*England* has abolished slavery, but no *other* civilized nation has done so; and I am talking of civilization in general. You will reply, that this is true; but that civilization having begun this good work, (in a very stupid way by-the-bye,) the principle will spread far and wide. I hope the principle will spread; but I maintain that neither commerce, nor science, nor manufactures, had any thing to do with this good work; which was accomplished by *religion*. It was the work of the dissenters; and the effect of religious enthusiasm. I use not the term in contempt, but in admiration, when so directed. The dissenters freed the blacks, by uniting their exertions to carry through the Divine precept of "do as you would be done by," a precept laughed at by civilized "statesmen," at least as far as we can judge by the two last editions of statesmen which have been published, volume first entitled, "*Irish Coercion Bill*," and volume second, "*Orange Societies encouraged.*" The last is of a piece with the consistent folly of the Tories; who cling, obstinately, to measures charged with self-destruction; they seem to delight in the moral deformity of the Irish Protestant Church, as the cretins of the Alps are said to take pride in their hideous "goîtres." But the "Coercion Bill" from the Whigs! from men who, for thirty years, have ran-

sacked the slang dictionary in search of epithets, bad enough to bestow on the Tories for ill-treating Ireland! but it is idle to talk: the record against this faction, and its hypocrisy, is as complete as an act of parliament can make it. The character of Angelo, in "Measure for Measure," is the personification of Whiggism, or Whiggery, or whatever it is called; only for "*Isabella*," read "*place and lucre.*" However, Angelo was "a man of business." The Whigs are not men of business: this has been decided by acclamation. But to quit politics, and finish my extracts. I shall give the report of a Committee, assembled in Van-Diemen's Land by order of Colonel Arthur in 1830, to inquire into the causes of the war, raging between the settlers, and the aborigines of that island. I believe this report was drawn up by the archdeacon of New South Wales. The sentiments, therein expressed, are humane and just; doing credit to the Committee and to Colonel Arthur.

The Report of the Committee.

"The committee appointed to inquire into the "origin of the hostility displayed by the black "natives of the island against the settlers, and to "consider the measures expedient to be adopted "with a view of checking the devastation of pro- "perty, and the destruction of human lives, oc- "casioned by the state of warfare which has so "extensively prevailed, have the honour to report, "for His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor's in- "formation, the result of their investigation.

"With a view to prepare themselves for recom- "mending any specific measures, no less than to "enable His Excellency to judge of their propriety

" and probable effect, they have sought for infor-
" mation respecting the disposition displayed by
" the natives from the very first establishment of
" the colony, and have endeavoured to obtain a
" connected view of the origin, progress, and
" existing character of their hostility. Upon all
" these points, the committee have collected a con-
" siderable mass of evidence, oral and written,
" which they annex to this report, and to which
" they beg to refer, in confirmation of the state-
" ments and reasonings herewith presented.

" From the testimony of persons who, from long
" residence in the colony, are best qualified to
" afford information, the committee have collected,
" that many causes of offence, some wanton and
" others unintentional, were given to the natives
" by the first settlers, and have from time to time
" remained in opposition to the expressed disposi-
" tion and desire of the Government, to protect the
" former from violence and injustice. There is too
" much reason to apprehend that, as the white po-
" pulation spread itself more widely over the island,
" and the settlers came more frequently in contact
" with the natives, many outrages were committed
" which no interposition of the Government, how-
" ever well disposed, could, with the means at its
" command, have been able to prevent. It would
" indeed appear, that there prevailed at this period,
" too general a forgetfulness of those rights of or-
" dinary compassion to which as human beings, and
" as the original occupants of the soil, these de-
" fenceless and ignorant people were justly entitled.
" They were sacrificed, in many instances, to mo-
" mentary caprice or anger, as if the life of a
" savage had been unworthy the slightest con-

" sideration; and they sustained the most unjus-
" tifiable treatment in defending themselves against
" outrages, which it was not to be expected that
" any race of men would submit to without resis-
" tance, or endure without imbibing a spirit of
" hatred and revenge. The committee allude to
" those attacks which, it has come to their know-
" ledge, were then frequently made by lawless and
" desperate characters, for the purpose of carrying
" off the native women and children; attempts
" which, if resisted, the aggressors did not scruple
" to accomplish with circumstances of dreadful and
" unnecessary barbarity. In exemplification of this
" assertion, the committee cannot but mention one
" fact, which, from its atrocity, would have ap-
" peared to them perfectly incredible, had it not
" been confirmed by testimony which they cannot
" doubt. A person named Carrots, since dead, is
" known to have boasted, that having killed a
" native, in attempt to carry off his wife, he cut
" off the dead man's head, and obliged the woman
" to go with him, carrying it suspended round his
" neck. The accuracy of these representations
" would seem to be most fully confirmed by the
" language of the proclamations issued by Lieu-
" tenant Governors Davey and Sorell, on the 25th
" June, 1813, and 13th March, 1819, respectively,
" from which the following extracts are given.
" Lieutenant Colonel Davey states that, 'It having
" been intimated to the Lieutenant Governor, that
" a very marked and decided hostility has lately
" been evinced by the natives in the neighbourhood
" of the Coal River, in the attack they made upon
" the herds grazing in that district, he has felt it
" his duty to inquire into the probable causes

" which may have induced them to adopt their
" offensive line of conduct; and it is not without
" the most extreme concern he has learnt that the
" resentment of these poor uncultivated beings,
" has been justly excited by a most barbarous and
" inhuman mode of proceeding, acted upon towards
" them, viz. the robbery of their children. Had
" not the Lieutenant Governor the most positive
" and distinct proofs of such barbarous crimes
" having been committed, he could not have be-
" lieved that a British subject would have so ig-
" nominiously stained the honour of his country
" and of himself; but the facts are too clear, and
" it therefore becomes the indispensable and
" bounden duty of the Lieutenant Governor thus
" publicly to express his utter indignation and
" abhorrence thereof.' In the proclamation of
" Colonel Sorell, the following passages occur :—
" ' The Lieutenant Governor is aware that many
" of the settlers and stock-keepers consider the
" natives as a hostile people, seeking without pro-
" vocation, opportunity to destroy them and their
" stock; and towards whom any attempts at for-
" bearance or consideration would be useless. It
" is however most certain, that if the natives were
" intent upon destruction of this kind, and if they
" were incessantly to watch for opportunities of
" effecting it, the mischief done by them to the
" owners of cattle and sheep, which are now dis-
" persed for grazing over so great a part of the
" interior, would be increased a hundred fold.
" But so far from any systematic plan for the
" destruction of the stock or people being pursued
" by the native tribes, their meetings with the
" herdsmen appear to be generally incidental; and

" it is the opinion of the best informed persons who
" have been longest in the settlement, that the
" former are seldom the assailants, and that when
" they are, they act under the impression of recent
" injuries done to some of them by white people.
" It is undeniable that, in many former instances,
" cruelties have been perpetrated, repugnant to
" humanity and disgraceful to the British character,
" whilst few attempts can be traced on the part of
" the colonists to conciliate the natives, or to make
" them sensible that peace and forbearance are the
" objects desired. The impressions remaining from
" earlier injuries are kept up by the occasional
" outrages of miscreants, whose scene of crime is
" so remote as to render detection difficult; and
" who sometimes wantonly fire at and kill the men,
" and at others, pursue the women, for the purpose
" of compelling them to abandon their children.
" This last outrage is perhaps the most certain of
" all to excite in the sufferers a strong thirst for
" revenge against all white men, and to incite the
" natives to take revenge indiscriminately, according
" to the general practice of an uncivilized people,
" whenever, in their migrations, they fall in with
" herds and stockmen.'

" The committee, while they lament to revive
" these imputations, apparently too well founded
" against the earlier colonists, are, however, not
" prepared to say, that the description given by
" Lieutenant Governor Sorell of the passive and
" inoffensive character of the Aborigines, unless
" when previously attacked, is entirely supported
" by the evidence before them. It would appear
" that on the first landing of the settlers in the
" Derwent, under Lieutenant Bowen, they were

" permitted for a time to proceed in their operations,
" without any, or at the utmost with a very slight
" manifestation of dissatisfaction on the part of the
" natives. The first act of decided hostility was
" committed at Risdon, on the eastern shore of
" the Derwent, at which place the settlement was
" under the command of Lieutenant Moore, of
" the 102d regiment. This occurrence took place
" the 3d of May, 1824; and the committee have
" some difficulty in deciding whether it is to be
" considered as originating in an aggression by the
" natives calling forth measures of self-defence, or
" in an attack upon them commenced by the settlers
" and military, under an impression that an attempt
" was about to be made upon the position, by the
" unusually augmented number of natives who had
" made their appearance in the neighbourhood.
" It appears unquestionable that a person named
" Burke, whose habitation was considerably ad-
" vanced beyond the rest, was driven from it by
" the natives, whose number was estimated at five
" hundred, and much violence was threatened
" by them towards this man and his wife and
" dwelling.

" But it is the opinion of some persons who were
" then in the colony, that the displeasure of these
" people was excited only by finding this hut
" erected upon ground to which, as being favour-
" ably situated for water and hunting, they were
" in the habit of resorting, and on which they were
" preparing at this time to hold a general assembly,
" and that they had no more hostile intention than
" to remove this obstacle to their proceedings, while
" it is deposed by one who was an eye-witness,
" that they did not even proceed to this extent of

" aggression. Their having been accompanied by " their women and children, whom, when engaged " in expeditions of danger, they are known to be " in the habit of leaving in a place of security, is " a circumstance strongly in favour of the opinion " that they had in view no other than a peaceful " purpose, and that they were not the first assailants. " But whatever may have been the actual course of " previous events, it is indisputable that a most " lamentable encounter did at this time ensue, in " which the numbers slain of men, women, and " children, have been estimated as high as fifty; " although the committee from the experience they " have had in the course of this inquiry, of the " facility with which numbers are magnified, as " well as from other statements contradictory of the " above, are induced to hope that the estimate is " greatly overrated.

" Whether or not the resentment occasioned by " this encounter has been ever since maintained, " and has continued to influence the natives in " their feelings towards the white population, it is " impossible with perfect certainty to determine. " It is, however, manifestly shewn that an inter- " course with them on the part of insulated or un- " protected individuals or families has never been " perfectly secure. Although they might receive " with apparent favour and confidence such persons " as landed from time to time on various parts of " the coast, or fell in with them in other remote " situations, yet no sooner was the store of presents " exhausted, or the interview from other causes " concluded, than there was a risk of the natives " making an attack upon those very persons from " whom they had the very instant before been re-

" ceiving acts of kindness, and against whom they
" had up to that moment suffered no indication of
" hostility to betray itself. There have been, until
" the occurrence of the late outrages, and their
" consequent total estrangement, repeated instances
" of the natives exhibiting such confidence as,
" without any hesitation, to approach the dwellings
" of the settlers, and to partake of such refresh-
" ments as were then very generally offered to
" them, and this friendly intercourse having some-
" times continued for several days, was usually
" terminated by their departing to their own dis-
" tricts in a regular and peaceable manner, so long
" as they were held in restraint by the presence of
" a sufficient number of observers; but it is within
" the knowledge of many members of the com-
" mittee, and has been confirmed by other state-
" ments, that even at this period there was, beyond
" all doubt, in the disposition of the Aborigines, a
" lurking spirit of cruelty and mischievous craft,
" as, upon very many occasions, and even upon
" their retirement from houses where, as above
" stated, they had been kindly received and enter-
" tained, they have been known to put to death,
" with the utmost wantonness and inhumanity,
" stock and hut keepers, whom they fell in with in
" retired situations, at a distance from protection,
" and who, there is every reason to believe, had
" never given them the slightest provocation. The
" opinion of the committee is most decided, that
" these acts of violence on the part of the natives,
" are generally to be regarded, not as retaliating
" for any wrongs which they conceived themselves
" collectively or individually to have endured, but
" as proceeding from a wanton and a savage spirit,

" inherent in them, and impelling them to mischief
" and cruelty, when it appeared probable that they
" might be perpetrated with impunity; at the same
" time, they have no hesitation in tracing to the
" manifold insults and injuries which these un-
" happy people have sustained, from the dissolute
" and abandoned characters whom they have un-
" fortunately encountered, the universal and per-
" manent excitement of that spirit which now pre-
" vails, and which leads them to wreak indiscrimi-
" nate vengeance, as often as they find opportunity,
" on the persons and property of the white popu-
" lation.

" On turning their attention from the proceed-
" ings of individuals to those of the Government,
" the committee derive the utmost satisfaction from
" discovering that, on the part of the Colony, an
" uniform anxiety has prevailed to protect the
" natives, and to secure for them the treatment
" which justice and humanity require. In evidence
" of this feeling, they have already referred to the
" proclamations of Lieutenant-Governors Davey and
" Sorell in 1813 and 1819, and they have before
" them other documents, of still earlier date, having
" the same object in view. So early as the 29th
" January, 1810, a general order was issued by
" Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, declaring that any
" person who should offer violence to a native, or
" should in cool blood murder or cause any of them
" to be murdered, should, on proof being made of
" the same, be dealt with and proceeded against as
" if such violence had been offered to or murder
" committed on a civilized person. With the pro-
" clamation of Colonel Davey already noticed,
" publicity was given to an extract of a letter from

" Lord Hobart to Lieutenant-Governor Collins, in " the following terms:—'You are to endeavour, " by every means in your power, to open an inter- " course with the natives, and to conciliate their " good will, enjoining all persons under your " government to live in amity and kindness with " them; and if any person shall exercise any acts " of violence against them, or shall wantonly give " them any interruption in the exercise of their " several occupations, you are to cause such offender " to be brought to punishment, according to the " degree of the offence.' In evidence of the conti- " nuance of the feeling, the committee may also " refer to the proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor " Sorell, dated 19th March, 1817; wherein it is " stated that—

" 'Whereas several settlers and others are in the " habit of maliciously and wantonly firing at and " destroying the defenceless natives, or Aborigines, " of this island, and whereas it has been com- " manded by His Excellency the Governor-in- " Chief, that the natives should be considered as " under the British Government and protection, " these instructions render it no less the duty than " it is the disposition of the Lieutenant-Governor " to forbid and prevent, and when perpetrated to " punish, any ill-treatment of the native people of " this island, and to support and encourage all " measures which may tend to conciliate and civi- " lize them.'

" There is some ground for believing that these " humane precautions were not wholly inefficacious " in procuring at least a partial return of confi- " dence on the part of the natives, as in the Hobart " Town Gazette of the 18th April, in the following

" year, the committee find it stated, that notwith-
" standing the hostility which has so long prevailed
" in the breasts of the natives of the island towards
" Europeans, we now perceive, with heartfelt satis-
" faction, that hatred is in some measure gradually
" subsiding. Several of them are to be seen about
" this town and its neighbourhood, who obtain sub-
" sistence from the charitable and well-disposed.
" In other directions there is, however, too much
" reason to fear that the former system of injury
" and destruction was still pursued, as the com-
" mittee find that His Excellency, the present
" Lieutenant-Governor, considered it necessary to
" republish, on the 23d June, 1824, the proclama-
" tion of his predecessor, bearing date May, 1817,
" to which attention has been above directed.
" Proceeding in the course of events, the committee
" find recorded a government and general order,
" dated the 4th November, 1824, importing that a
" body of natives having come into Hobart Town,
" the Lieutenant-Governor requests that the utmost
" kindness may be manifested towards them, until
" some arrangements can be made by the Govern-
" ment for providing for their accommodation and
" removing them to some proper establishment.

" This tribe was subsequently removed to Kan-
" garoo Point, where they experienced a continu-
" ance of the humane attention recommended in
" the Government order, and, being under no re-
" straints, they were in the habit of departing and
" returning as often as their own convenience dic-
" tated, or they were desirous of obtaining fresh
" supplies of food and clothing, with which they
" were liberally furnished. This satisfactory inter-
" course appears to have subsisted during a period

" of two years, but not to have had the effect of " inducing the black inhabitants, in any conside- " rable number beyond those who originally came " in, to associate and domesticate themselves among " the settlers. It is even to be feared, from the " nature of the events which led to the termination " of the intercourse here described, that such a " display of kindness had failed to inspire them " with any sentiment of attachment, or of forbear- " ance from their inveterate habits of treachery and " mischief.

" A barbarous murder was committed near Oyster " Bay, of which two of the tribe frequenting Kan- " garoo Point were ascertained to be the perpetra- " tors. On their next return to that spot, they " were arrested on this charge, and after conviction " in the clearest evidence before the Supreme Court, " were executed on the 16th September, 1826. " After this occurrence, the natives came no more " to the usual place of resort. They have resisted " every subsequent attempt on the part of Govern- " ment or of individuals, to enter into intercourse " or explanation with them; and from that period, " the frequency of their attacks on white persons " and their property has been gradually increasing. " It is, however, necessary to remark, whatever in- " fluence resentment, arising from the execution of " the above offenders, may have had in exciting " them to such acts of violence, there were other " causes in operation, contributing to produce this " result, especially the outrage of the bush-rangers, " who were then at large in this country.

" The committee beg leave, in proof of the truth " of this remark, to refer to a single instance, that " of the notorious Dunne, who, after a long course

" of atrocity, was captured about the middle of " October, 1826, and suffered the penalty of his " crimes. A few days previous to his seizure, this " man made his appearance at the hut of Mr. " Thomson, on the further bank of the Shannon, " bringing with him a black native woman, whom " he acknowledged he had stolen from her tribe, " and whom in that hut he treated with violence, " from which she endeavoured ineffectually to " escape. After this, Dunne swam across the river " Ouse, and landing on the opposite bank, found " himself in the midst of that tribe of natives, from " whom the woman had been carried off. During " several hours he withstood their attacks, and " finally succeeded in escaping.

" But their revenge was not thus to be disap- " pointed. On the day following that on which " this atrocious act had been committed by Dunne, " and within a few miles of the spot, two men " driving a cart were attacked in a secluded wood, " near the Clyde, by a party of natives headed by a " half-civilized black, who had been sometime at " the settlement at Macquarie Harbour. One of " the men, William Tidwell, was pierced by a " spear through the thigh, and perished. The " same party afterwards attacked the hut of Mr. " Nicholas, and subsequently that of Mr. Thomson " before-mentioned, where James Scott was killed. " The committee particularly allude to the catas- " trophe, in consequence of the evidence received " before the coroner, Thomas Anstey, Esq. on the " view of the body of Scott, plainly developing the " connexion between this act of violence on the " part of the natives and the previous outrage of " Dunne. Mr. Thomson's servant deposed, some

" few weeks ago, ' Dunne, the bush-ranger,
" brought a native woman to our hut; he brought
" her by force. The same woman was with the
" tribe of natives when they attacked and plundered
" our hut, and she was with the party who threat-
" ened us with death on the following day, about
" which time Scott was killed.'—(See Hobart Town
" Gazettes, October 14th, 21st, and November 18th,
" 1826.)

" Having brought down to this period the detail
" of occurrences, and stated such as in their opinion
" are calculated to account for the enmity displayed
" by the black against the white population, the
" committee deem it expedient to exhibit a brief
" compendium of the measures which have been
" adopted by the Government, subsequently to the
" date last mentioned. Their purpose is thereby
" to furnish means of judging in what degree those
" measures have accomplished the intended pur-
" pose, and of further considering what proceedings
" may now be expedient and necessary for the
" tranquillization of the colony.

" On the 29th of November, 1826, a Govern-
" ment notice was issued, wherein, after reference
" to the series of outrages perpetrated by the Abo-
" rigines, and a statement of His Excellency's
" uniform anxiety to inculcate a spirit of forbearance
" towards them, it was promulgated—

" 1.—That in the event of a felony being com-
" mitted, or of an apparent determination existing
" on the part of the native tribes to attack, rob, or
" murder the white inhabitants, any person might
" arm, and joining the military, contribute to drive
" them by force to a safe distance.

" 2.—That they might be apprehended, and if

" resistance were offered, force might be resorted " to for that purpose, by any persons acting under " the direction of a magistrate or peace-officer, in " cases of their assembling in such manner as to " excite fear, or betraying an intention to do any " harm, short of felony, to the person or property " of any one.

" 3.—That if any natives should have actually " committed felonies, the magistrates should use " all exertions to discover and apprehend, on their " warrant, the principals concerned therein, and " that the officer executing the same might employ " force, if the offenders could not otherwise be " taken, or if acts of violence or intimidation were " resorted to by them on their behalf.

" 4.—That any person having actually witnessed " the commission of a felony, might raise the " neighbourhood and pursue and seize the offenders " by all such means as a constable might use.

" On the 29th November, 1827, a second Govern- " ment notice appeared, which refers to the renewal " of aggressions by the Aborigines against the " stock-keepers and other white inhabitants, and " directs the magistrates to act with rigour upon " the principles laid down in the order of the pre- " ceding year, of which the substance has been " detailed. At the same time, the Lieutenant " Governor stated, that sufficient troops to give " confidence to the inhabitants, would be at the " disposal of the civil power in every district; but " expressed his wish to have it understood that his " own confidence chiefly reposed in the adoption of " vigorous measures by the magistrates and con- " stables, who were expected to unite every degree " of prudence and humanity, with the energy and

" decision so necessary on this distressing occasion.
" On the 5th April, 1828, a proclamation was issued
" for the protection of the Aboriginal natives
" against the attacks of aggression, violence, and
" cruelty committed on them by the stock-keepers
" and others, His Majesty's subjects, and for the
" purpose of causing the natives to retire from the
" settled districts of the Island, in continuing to
" perpetrate frequent unprovoked outrages on the
" persons and property of the settlers, and to com-
" mit repeated wanton and barbarous murders and
" other crimes. Herein it is further represented,
" that the Aborigines have, during a considerable
" period of time, evinced and are daily evincing a
" growing spirit of hatred, outrage, and enmity
" against the subjects of His Majesty, and are put-
" ting in practice modes of hostility, indicating
" gradual, though slow advances in art, system, and
" method, and utterly inconsistent with the pur-
" suits of civilized society, the most necessary arts
" of human subsistence, and the secure enjoyment of
" human life.

" In order, therefore, to prevent as far as possible
" collisions which were attended with consequences
" so fatal, the proclamation now in question esta-
" blished a line of military posts along the confines
" of the settled districts, within which the natives
" were forbidden to penetrate. All practicable
" methods were directed to be employed to make
" known to them the provisions of the proclamation,
" in furtherance of which object, a letter from the
" major of brigade, dated 21st April, 1828, in-
" formed the officers commanding detachments, that
" the colonel commanding would authorize them to
" offer any reasonable reward to persons who should

" succeed in becoming the channels of such com-
" munication.

" All these measures of forbearance having, how-
" ever, failed to produce the desired effect, and acts
" of murder and devastation being continually on
" the increase, a proclamation, declaring martial
" law against the natives, was issued on the 1st
" November, 1828, excepting from its operation
" only certain specified districts. The actual use
" of arms was at the same time strictly prohibited
" in all cases wherein the natives could be induced
" by other means to retire beyond the proscribed
" limits, and the proclamation was conveyed to
" the police magistrates, accompanied by a letter
" from his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor,
" wherein it was stated, that 'the Government puts
" forth its strength on this occasion, by no means
" whatever with a view of seeking the destruction
" of the Aborigines; on the contrary it is hoped,
" by energetic and decisive measures, and by
" punishing the leaders in the atrocities which
" have been perpetrated, that an end may be put to
" the lawless and cruel warfare which is now carry-
" ing on, and which must terminate in the total
" annihilation of the natives.'

" The observance of these principles of action has
" been repeatedly inculcated since that period, and
" up to the present moment, by circular letters
" addressed to the police magistrates, and by gar-
" rison orders; but in consequence of the covert
" and crafty mode adopted by the natives, in making
" their approaches and attacks, and their almost
" inconceivable adroitness in effecting their escape,
" no progress whatever has been made in repressing
" their outrages or apprehending their persons.'

"The suggestion formerly thrown out in the "proclamation of Lieutenant Governor Sorell, as to "the more extended mischief which the natives "would be capable of inflicting, were they inces-"santly to act upon a systematic plan of attacking "the settlers and their possessions, has been but "too completely verified by the events of the last "two years, and still more fatally by those of the "few months which have just elapsed. It is mani-"fest that they have lost the sense of the supe-"riority of white men, and the dread of the effects "of fire-arms which they formerly entertained, and "have of late conducted their plans of aggression, "with such resolution as they were not heretofore "thought to possess, and with a caution and arti-"fice which render it impossible to foresee or de-"feat their purposes.

"They continue to occupy and ravage beyond "the reach of control and in defiance of the orders "and efforts of Government, those settled districts "which they were prohibited from entering. Since "the commencement of the present year, an unpa-"ralleled series of devastation has marked their "passage through the country, as atrocities perpe-"trated by them will abundantly testify.

"After a careful comparison of the several state-"ments they have received, the committee have "no hesitation in expressing their persuasion, that "a sentiment of alarm pervades the minds of the "settlers throughout the island, and that the total "ruin of every establishment is but too certainly to "be apprehended, unless immediate means can be "devised for suppressing the system of aggression, "under which so many are in dread that they may "themselves become the victims. It cannot be

" necessary to offer any additional observation to " prove that the measures hitherto resorted to, " though apparently the most judicious that could " be devised, have not been attended with success. " The urgency of the case, and the hazard to which " the safety of individuals and the public peace " continue to be exposed, render it imperative on " the committee to afford the Government the aid " of their best ability, and at least to attempt the " suggestion of some more effectual mode of pre- " servation and resistance. They cannot, however, " enter upon this province of their labours, without " expressing their entire and hearty concurrence " in the sentiments of humanity and forbearance " towards these wretched people, so constantly " enforced by His Excellency the present Lieu- " tenant Governor and his predecessors, in all the " public documents which have been issued in con- " nexion with this subject. The feelings of His " Majesty's Government and of the British nation, " they cannot doubt are altogether in accordance " with these views. For themselves, as men, as " Englishmen, and as Christians, the committee " are sensibly persuaded, that every degree of mo- " deration and forbearance is due to an ignorant, " debased, and unreflecting race, who, it is im- " possible to doubt, were first excited to general " aggression, and systematic barbarity by the wrongs " which they themselves experienced on the part " of miscreants, who were a disgrace to our name " and nation, and even to human nature. It is as " they conceive a plain and most imperative duty, " a duty which they would on no account take upon " themselves the responsibility of violating or of " recommending others to violate, that no act of

" increased severity should be resorted to against
" the natives, without first having recourse to every
" conceivable and practicable method of making
" known to them that intention, and of forewarning
" them of the dangers and punishment to which
" they will expose themselves, by persevering in
" their present hostility. On the other hand, the
" committee are bound to consider that the natives
" are now visiting the injuries they have received,
" not on the actual offenders, but on a different
" and totally innocent class; and they acknowledge
" the force of the obligation to attend to the in-
" terests of that very numerous portion of their
" fellow subjects. In the proclamation of the 15th
" of April, 1828, it was stated, with equal force
" and justice, that the security and safety of all
" who have entrusted themselves to this country,
" on the faith of British protection, are impera-
" tively required by the plainest principles of
" justice.

" These views the committee would therefore
" carry into effect, by respectfully recommending
" to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, the
" adoption of certain specific measures, which they
" will now proceed to enumerate. They are per-
" fectly aware that such arrangements as they have
" to propose, cannot be effected without a very
" considerable increase of expenditure; but they
" are unavoidably compelled to overlook this con-
" sideration, from a sense that increased exertions
" are necessary for the security of those who natu-
" rally, and with justice, look up to the Govern-
" ment for support and protection. They consider
" it, moreover, a proceeding of manifestly good
" policy, to make a temporary sacrifice for the sake

" of preserving the whole property of the colony
" from destruction, and to abate that waste of lives,
" which has of late been so rapidly on the increase.
" The most obvious suggestion certainly is, that
" the first arrangements for precaution and defence
" should proceed from the settlers themselves; and
" the first step to be taken with this view is, that
" every head of a family, with every male of com-
" petent age, at least those who are free, should be
" well provided with arms, and act on all occasions
" with a watchful regard to the security of their
" dwellings and possessions. It has been clearly
" shewn, by repeated instances, that the natives
" have by artifice decoyed persons to quit their
" houses for the purposes of pursuit, who, on their
" return, have found their homes utterly destroyed
" by fire, and every thing of value carried off.

" It is impossible for the committee to suggest,
" or for the Government to prescribe, all the
" measures of self-defence, which in the event of
" an attack it may be necessary to adopt, but it is
" their unanimous persuasion that all settlers should,
" with their families and dependents, make the
" defence of their own habitation the chief object
" of their concern; and should by no inducement
" be persuaded ever to leave it without a compe-
" tent guard. This line of conduct appears to be
" the only one, effectual for defence; for it is justly
" observed by one of the gentlemen who has fa-
" voured the committee with an answer to their
" inquiries, that 'a house left without protection
" becomes an easy prey to these insidious depreda-
" tors, who will for days and weeks watch a house
" that they have marked out for plunder, till they
" find the whole of the males absent; they then

" pounce upon the dwelling, and with a celebrity
" incredible, plunder it of every article they con-
" sider valuable.'

" On the other hand, the committee are per-
" suaded by instances which have occurred even
" within the last few days, that these attacks are
" easily repelled where parties are on their guard
" and shew a determination to resist force by force;
" and they are persuaded that nothing would so
" effectually deter the natives from hostile attempts
" on dwelling-houses, as the certainty they would
" encounter resistance, and a few instances of their
" incurring a severe chastisement in retaliation for
" their predatory attacks.

" In the next place the committee consider it
" their duty to recommend to every settler, to point
" out to his stock-keepers and assigned servants
" the fatal consequences which have resulted to the
" entire community from the base and barbarous
" conduct, which some of their class have pursued
" towards the natives; how little surprising it is,
" that the latter should proceed to measures of re-
" taliation; and how much it behoves them to
" desist from a repetition of such disgraceful con-
" duct, from a regard even to their own safety,
" seeing that not one of those barbarians by whom
" the natives were thus irritated has ultimately
" escaped the effects of their vengeance.

" With these efforts it would be proper that the
" Government should co-operate, by renewing, and
" with augmented strictness, the prohibition to
" destroy kangaroos by hunting, shooting, or other
" means, within the limits prescribed to the natives.
" So great is the injustice of this proceeding on
" the part of the whites, and so apparent the in-

" jury suffered by the natives, through the des-
" truction of this their principal source of sustenance,
" that the committee would deem it expedient, if
" other modes of prevention fail, to make this a
" legal offence, to be visited with very severe pe-
" nalties. The unassisted efforts of the settlers
" must, however, it is evident, be insufficient even
" to defend their own dwellings. Other and more
" active measures, such as the Government alone
" can institute and support, must be called for.
" It is therefore recommended that the chief direc-
" tion of all operations in every district, shall be
" entrusted to the police magistrate.

" Secondly, that to every station a number of
" mounted police should be attached, whose
" employment would be to convey the intimation
" of the natives to those parts of the district, which
" should appear to be most threatened, and afford
" the settlers time to prepare for the defence of their
" houses. That the field police should be increased
" to the utmost practicable limit, and that sufficient
" inducements should be held out, to prevail on
" persons of much superior qualifications to those
" hitherto acting in that capacity, to serve as
" leaders; and that the whole be regularly clothed
" and equipped, and placed under a system of dis-
" cipline, appropriate to the service in which they
" are to be employed.

" Lastly, that the military should be engaged in
" the aid of the civil power, so far as the very
" inadequate force now in the colony will permit.

" The committee are aware that the efforts of
" Government have never been wanting in sup-
" plying the greatest possible amount of disposable
" force to the disturbed districts.

" It is, however, worthy of consideration, whether, " by some additional encouragement, the efficiency " of that force may not be increased. The com- " mittee would suggest, that an augmentation of " allowances should be granted to the soldiery " while engaged in this service; and that, to " secure their efficiency and discipline, they should " be under the command of their own officers, who " should also receive a proportionate increase of " pay, at the expense of the colony.

" With respect to the mode in which the descrip- " tions of force here spoken of may be most advan- " tageously employed, the committee do not consider " themselves qualified to offer an opinion, excepting " so far as to point out some of the defects in the " system of the roving parties which have hitherto " been employed. To the propriety of engaging " leaders of higher qualifications, attention has been " already directed. It is besides the persuasion of " the committee, that notwithstanding the exertions " of that highly respected individual who has had " the superintendence of these parties, an error has " been committed by them in extending their march " over too wide an extent of country, whereby the " natives have been either chased before them, and " an useless state of alarm has been kept up, or " they have passed the natives unperceived, and " left them unmolested to ravage the country in the " rear. It has also been proved that great want of " caution has been shewn in their mode of march, " in carelessly running backward and forward, " talking, shouting, smoking, and suffering other " indications of their approach to alarm the keen " scent of the natives, and to warn them to fly. " The committee are fully persuaded that such

" parties, conducted upon these principles, are " worse than useless; and they therefore recom- " mend that instead of traversing the country, as " heretofore, without system or mutual co-operation, " each band should have a particular portion of the " district assigned to it, which it should continually " traverse, in the manner of a patrol, and endeavour " to obtain the most intimate acquaintance with the " tracks which the natives pursue in their migrations, " and the haunts (for such they are known to be) " which they by preference frequent. The men " under whose command they are, must also be " such as possess sufficient prudence and authority " to repress all those imprudent modes of proceeding " above detailed, which necessarily give alarm to " the natives, and preclude the possibility of " coming upon them by surprise. The only " additional suggestion which the committee beg " leave to offer is, that magazines of provisions " might be established in central situations, from " which the police and military parties might " receive their supplies, without the necessity of " quitting their stations, or interrupting their pur- " suit.

" In recommending these measures, the com- " mittee are animated by a desire not to occasion, " but to prevent, the effusion of blood; they are " desirous that the use of arms should be resorted " to only for the purpose of repelling an attack, or " danger to life and property, and that the main " effort should be directed to capture the natives " alive and unhurt.

" For the encouragement of this measure, they " acknowledge the propriety and recommend a " continuance of the system adopted by Govern-

" ment, of offering a reward to any free person,
" military or civil, by whom any such capture shall
" be effected; and they presume that a ticket-of-
" leave, or other appropriate indulgence, would not
" be withheld from a prisoner who should succeed
" in the same object. They are persuaded that if
" the patrolling parties are sufficiently numerous
" and persevering, the natives must either be de-
" terred from venturing into districts so occupied,
" or by due vigilance in watching their movements,
" and caution in approaching them, must be fallen
" in with and captured.

" In effecting this, the design of the committee
" is to attain the means of opening, if possible, a
" communication with the hostile tribes, and of
" convincing them generally, that the white popu-
" lation have no other desire than the maintenance
" of the peace. In pursuance of this object, they
" have forwarded to His Excellency their recom-
" mendation that the native women lately captured,
" and who have been treated with kindness and
" indulgence, of which they appeared very sen-
" sible, should be sent back to their tribe. To
" this destination they have been forwarded
" with a suitable safeguard; and the opinion of
" the committee is, that as opportunities present
" themselves, the same course should be pursued
" with respect to any natives, male or female, who
" may in future be taken prisoners, until it shall
" evidently appear that this mode of acting has its
" effect in subduing their feeling of hostility, or
" that they are utterly beyond the reach of con-
" ciliation.

" It is much to be desired, that, while under a
" state of restraint, the natives should be accessible

" only to persons who have the sanction of the
" Government, as experience shews that from indis-
" criminate intercourse, they are liable to imbibe
" impressions from ill-disposed and improper cha-
" racters, which render them, on their return to
" their countrymen, more formidable enemies than
" those who have never had any intercourse with
" Europeans.

" The committee can scarcely imagine that these
" recommendations will be considered as severe, or
" otherwise than they in their consciences believe
" them to be, measures of humane and necessary
" precaution.

" To guard against misconception, they, how-
" ever, deem it necessary to observe, that there are
" circumstances existing, which would render it
" criminal to withhold protection from the settlers,
" and which in some degree deprive the natives of
" their claim to an entire forbearance from coercion.
" These are, first, that the latter have resorted so
" systematically to the use of fire for the destruction
" of property, as to render their approach to a
" dwelling-house, without any other indication of
" hostility, extremely hazardous; and secondly,
" that they are now not acting the part of injured
" men, seeking to avenge the wrong they have sus-
" tained, but rather of marauders, stimulated by
" eagerness for plunder and the desire of artificial
" luxuries, the use of which has now become
" familiar to them. If, on the other hand, there
" should be any who conceive that the aggressions
" lately sustained by the settlers, would justify a
" more severe exertion of force against the natives
" than is here proposed, the committee would
" entreat them again to consider the circumstances

" in which the present unhappy posture of affairs
" originated. They are persuaded that under all
" provocation, and in opposition to any appearance
" of immediate advantage, the wisest policy will
" always be found to be that which has justice for
" its basis. They are sensible that the natives had
" originally many causes for complaint and many
" sources of provocation, from the treatment they
" experienced, and excepting so far as may be
" necessary for the actual defence of life and pro-
" perty, they desire for themselves and for their
" country to be pure from the blood of all men.
" The debt which they incurred in taking pos-
" session of this country, they would willingly
" acquit themselves of by every justifiable degree
" of forbearance and moderation towards the native
" inhabitants, and by leading them, if opportunity
" should be permitted, into the paths of civili-
" zation.

" In conclusion, they may venture to express a
" hope, that the experience of present transactions
" may be even rendered useful in the history of the
" world; and that, in all future attempts at coloni-
" zation, it may be steadily borne in mind how
" strict an obligation exists to exercise mercy and
" justice toward the unprotected savage, and how
" severe a retribution the neglect of those duties,
" even by individuals, may ultimately entail upon an
" entire, an unoffending community."

There is some inconsistency in the foregoing report, because we are therein told that the natives have been excited to vengeance by the most horrible conduct on the part of the settlers. That, at first, the unhappy blacks merely defended themselves, and for daring to do so, they received treat-

ment "*that no race of men could indure without imbibing a spirit of hatred and revenge.*" This assertion, on the part of the Committee, is supported by *proofs*. The report then goes on to say, that Governor Sorell is wrong in describing these people to be of a passive and inoffensive character, unless when attacked and ill-used; but having, as I have observed, given *ample proofs* that Governor Sorell's character of the natives is perfectly just, the Committee do not give *any proof* that their own contradiction of the Governor's assertion, has the slightest foundation! So far from it, that they describe the treatment, which one Burke received from the natives, as a disproof of Governor Sorell's description of their character, and the reader must have observed that this account, as far as it goes, fully bears out Governor Sorell's assertions, and supports the statement (made elsewhere, by the report itself) of our inhuman conduct. In short, the Committee do not adduce one single fact in support of their assertion, that the acts of violence committed by the natives arises from "*a wanton and savage spirit,*" which accusation against the blacks appears to be unworthy of the just sentiments that are found in the other parts of the report. Then we find in page 193, that "two natives had committed a murder, and were convicted upon "the clearest evidence." Let us examine this matter—we find that the settlers are justly accused by the Committee of having exercised every sort of cruelty, and murders innumerable upon the natives; and not a word do we hear of a settler having been hanged. We are, therefore, to conclude that none were hanged (for Dunne who is said to have been executed, was not a settler, but a

runaway convict; and not hanged for his atrocities upon the natives, but upon the settlers). We then find that *two* natives were hanged for a murder; the only one which is distinctly recorded against them! We must admit that, by this one-sided justice, their execution may be termed a legal murder; and, further, we are warranted in saying, that where such gross injustice prevails, much doubt may arise, whether the savages *were* convicted upon the "*clearest evidence.*" That they killed the man, I have no doubt; but the great indignation which, their execution seems to have produced among their countrymen, makes me believe that the slain man had provoked his fate, by some outrage upon those who slew him, and I am led to believe this, from the whole tenor of the report. However, to the hanging of the *native* murderers, if their sentence was a just one, there can be no objection; but to the *not* hanging of the *settler* murderers, there are very great objections. To hang a savage (except under peculiar circumstances) is a measure of very great severity, to say the least of it; because he has no knowledge of our law; and, in killing, only acts *according* to the customs of his country, which the settlers have invaded. But the settler acts *contrary* to the laws of his country: knowing what is right, he does wrong; and does so from a brutal disposition: he, therefore, appears to be a fit subject for the heavy hand of the law to deal with, and remove from society. It is, at all times, a fearful thing to take life; a thing so terrible, and of such doubtful propriety, that the wisest, and best men, are divided in their opinions upon our right to deprive a fellow creature of that which God, alone, can give. But, if we be

permitted to take life at all, it is surely allowable to destroy a murderer, whose bloody hand has not only slain another man, but, by the murder, causes a long train of murders to follow! Men will retaliate, and when this occurs between savages and civilized people, the consequence is, that general massacres are inflicted, in revenge for *individual* crime. Proclamations, alone, do no good. What do distant settlers care for a proclamation? nothing. When an execution takes place, then indeed, a proclamation *is* useful, to make the people understand the crime; and the necessity which obliges the government to make so dread an example: to make the people feel that there is no alternative; that the government wished to save, but that it cannot do so, in justice to the community; unless such a feeling of confidence in the justice and humanity of the government pervades the minds of men, the effect of an execution is lost, and worse than lost; for the criminal is pitied; and the government condemned by the public. To produce confidence in the humanity and justice of a government, it must deserve such confidence; it must be *true*, that the government cannot with justice spare the culprit: for if this be *not true*, then every man, who lends his sanction to the sacrifice, becomes a murderer. In a few words, our conduct is simply this. By force, we take away the country of the savage. By our cruelties, we display our contempt of all laws, divine and human. When the savage resists, we put him to death by laws which we do not acknowledge in our treatment of him, and which he does not, and cannot, understand; those laws being contrary to his habits, written in an unknown language,

and within the influence of which laws we have forced him by the unjust invasion of his country. It is curious to remark, (and the remark shall finish my book) that our first reformed parliament, which, while passing the Irish coercion bill, made the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel resound with declamations against *war*, and *invasion*, and *military despotism*, and *soldiers*, and the Lord knows what; this "unco guid and rigidly righteous" parliament, passed an act to seize, by force, a territory in Australia, as large as France and Spain; and calls this territory "*uninhabited*," when it is well known to be *inhabited!* So that one of the last acts of this parliament was publicly to tell a lie; and to deprive an inoffensive race of people of their property, without giving them the slightest remuneration—so much for parliamentary TRUTH and JUSTICE!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extracts from Wentworth, to assist the Emigrant in his preparation to embark, and during the voyage.

"THOSE persons only of course will take a cabin passage whose fortune will enable them to pay for the indulgence, but persons of smaller fortunes, or of economical habits, will take what is called a '*Steerage passage.*' The price of a steerage passage is now, and has been for some time, £35* for adults, and half price for children under fourteen years of age. When there is a family, it comes to something more than £20 each." "Steerage passengers are supplied with biscuit, salt meat, peas, flour, puddings, spirits, sugar, and tea, &c.; no fresh meat, and the ration is always sufficient, but it would be advisable for the steerage-passenger to buy a small supply of comforts, such as cheese, with a little tea, sugar, especially if there be children. The cabin-room allowed to passengers is regulated by Act of Parliament at *six feet in length, two and a half in width, and the full height between decks,* for each adult—two children under fourteen years of age, and three under nine are considered as equal to one adult. The cabins are generally made six feet in length, and five or six in width, to accommodate two adults, or four or six children, according to their age. Passengers must find their own beds, bedding, pewter wash-hand basin, water-bottle, chamber-vessel, towels, and all other

* This price is now reduced; the emigrants will be sent out at about £15.

cabin furniture. If victualled by the captain, he finds things that are necessary; and if they victual themselves, they find all manner of cooking, eating, and table furniture. To those who have families, says Mr. Wentworth, there can be no doubt that a considerable saving may be made by laying in their own sea stock, but I would not advise them to take live stock of any description. The best provision in the meat way is the preserved meat, which is sold by the patentees, Donkin, Hall, and Gamble, No. 39, Clement's-lane, Lombard-street; and at J. Cooper's, 7, St. John-street, Clerkenwell. The price of common sorts of meat, viz., beef, mutton, and pork, is only 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* per pound, which, considering that the bone is taken from the joints before they are cooked, is a moderate charge. This meat is dressed in tin cases. There is no danger of their contents being damaged by length of time or climate. I have only to add, that the emigrant should complete his sea stores with the following articles, laying in stock for five months, viz., biscuit, flower, plums, suet, split peas for soup, salt pork and beef, hams, cheese, butter, bottled porter, ale, spirits, wine, vinegar, lemon-juice, preserved fruits, potatoes, stockfish, and codsounds.—However, the best way is to agree with the captain and have no further trouble. Every ship that carries fifty persons, including the crew, is obliged, by Act of Parliament, to carry a surgeon. The greatest care should be taken in carefully packing all goods in strong iron-bound square chests, each marked with the owner's name, and a list of what it contains kept in a small book. The emigrant's goods and luggage must be entered at the Custom-house, and particularly specified as to marks and contents, and an export duty of 10*s.* per cent. paid on the value."

"Passengers should employ the ship's broker to enter and clear out his goods, to whom he must give a list of every thing. Passengers are charged freight for every thing they do not stow away in their own cabins, and the customary rate is £5 per ton."* Mr. Wentworth advises several families to unite and charter a ship, as being cheaper than any other mode; he gives all the calculations for this purpose, and I recommend his book to the perusal of those who propose to follow this scheme.

Like the Rev. Henry Carmichael, Mr. Wentworth advises

* Emigrants are advised to keep as few things in their cabin as possible. Nothing is more uncomfortable when the ship rolls than luggage; and if a heavy trunk gets loose, it is very dangerous where there are children.

all heavy instruments of agriculture to be purchased in Australia, as cheaper and better, taking all things into consideration. However, he recommends saddlery and carriage harness to be taken from England, also nails, bolts, locks, latches for doors and gates, sieves, cooking utensils, knives, forks, spoons, plates, dishes, table, and all other family linen, mattrasses, churns, dishes, pans, dairy things, carpenters' tools, and clothes for two years wear—*not more*—tables, chairs, and such heavy furniture, the emigrant will get there very good, and cheaper. The following list of things Mr. Wentworth recommends the emigrant of £500 capital to take out for his own use, namely:—

A small thrashing-machine, a few dozen sickles, beds, blankets, sheets, quilts, and hangings, table-linen, towelling, &c., earthenware, glass, tin, japan, pewter, and brass ware, kitchen utensils, knives, forks, spoons.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Twelve spades, six shovels, twelve West India hoes, twelve toothed reaping-hooks, two sets of iron-works for harrows, two bullocks'-chains, six rakes, six pitch-forks various sizes—six strong broad reaping-hooks, six scythe-blades.

CARPENTERS' TOOLS.

Six cross-cut saws, five and six feet blades, 2 pit-saws with tillers and handles, twelve hand-saws of various sizes, six dozen pit, cross-cut, and hand-saw files, six good broad axes, twelve strong felling axes, six splitting axes, three adzes, one dozen augers, of various sizes; six dozen gimlets, ditto; one dozen chisels and guages, ditto; six spoke-shaves; one dozen claw-hammers, various sizes; one dozen shingle and other hammers; two sash-planes.

SUNDRIES.

A bale of slop-clothes, containing twenty blue drugget jackets; twenty, ditto, trousers; five dozen striped cotton shirts; five dozen canvas trousers; three dozen duck frocks; a good steel mill, or small hand-mill; a set of three flour wire-sieves; six plain strong locks; one dozen bolts and latches; two dozen pairs of hook-and-eye hinges; scales and weights; metal pot.

NAILS.

Ten thousand shingle, stout long, 4*d.* rose; five ditto, batton, stout short 8*d.* ditto; one thousand twenty-penny stout rose; one thousand forty-penny ditto; three thousand flooring nails, stout.

For a man of £50 capital, the following utensils will be sufficient, namely:—

One cross-cut saw, one hand-saw, three hoes, one spade, one shovel, two axes, one adze, one hammer, two augers, six gimblets, one drawing-knife, one pick-axe, two sickles, one rake, one pitch-fork, one four-pronged fork for digging potatoes, one flour-sieve, one steel mill, one thousand nails of all sorts, one metal pot.

Mr. Wentworth and Mr. Carmichael both recommend the emigrants *not* to lay out their capital in merchandize, but take it in *cash*, and particularly in *dollars*. They give excellent reasons for this, and to their books the reader is referred. If the reader will take an old soldier's advice, he will bring about a dozen blue carters' frocks for the voyage; he will find no dress so useful in cold weather; he may have as many clothes as he pleases under it, and it keeps them all clean from tar and so forth. In hot weather (as in crossing the line, for example), the wearer need have *no other* clothing except his trousers.

In Van Dieman's Land, in 1824, the wages of artificers were good, namely:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Labourers, carpenters, smiths, stone-masons, bricklayers, coopers, cabinet-makers, shipwrights, and wheelwrights, earn, per day, from	0	7	0	to	0	12	0
Servants' (male and female) wages, per annum, from	12	0	0	to	15	0	0
PRICES.							
Horses, from	70	0	0	to	120*	0	0
Breeding cows, from	4	0	0	to	6	0	0
Heifers and steers, about	3	0	0				
Grown oxen, from	6	0	0	to	8	0	0
Good working ditto, from	10	0	0	to	15	0	0
Genuine herd of all sizes and ages, per head, all round, from	4	0	0	to	5	0	0
Sheep and ewes, from	0	10	0	to	1	10	0
Wethers, from	1	0	0	to	1	10	0
Fresh meat,—mutton and pork were furnished to His Majesty's magazine, from (per pound)	0	0	3	to	0	0	4½

* They are now numerous and cheap, and the same at New South South Wales. A cart-horse about £15 or £20, and a saddle-horse £40 to £50.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Salt pork, ditto, from	0	0	5	to	0	0	6
In Hobart's Town market—beef, pork, and mutton, fresh, per pound	0	0	7	to	0	0	9
Salt pork, ditto, from	0	0	7	to	0	0	9
Wheat, per bushel, from	0	5	0	to	0	7	0
Oats, ditto	0	3	0	to	0	4	0
Barley	0	3	6	to	0	5	0
Potatoes, per cwt.	0	3	6	to	0	5	0
Fowls, per couple	0	2	6	to	0	3	6
Ducks, ditto	0	4	0	to	0	5	0
Geese, each	0	5	0	to	0	7	6
Turkeys, each	0	7	0	to	0	10	0
Butter, per pound	0	2	6	to	0	4	0
Milk, per quart	0	1	0	to	0	1	0
Cheese, per pound	0	1	6	to	0	2	6
Wine, per gallon	0	6	0	to	0	10	0
Spirits, ditto	0	15	0	to	0	18	0

LAND.

Unimproved land, per acre	5	0	0
Improved ditto	10	0	0

There is little difficulty or expense in clearing land, and in Southern Australia it is said there will be still less, as large tracts of the country are free from wood. The average increase of the value of land is 3*s*. 6*d*. per acre.

MANUFACTURE.

" These colonies offer no encouragement to the manufacturer. The country is destitute of skill, capital, and machinery; all manufactures can be imported at a cheaper price and better quality than they can be made. The general merchant is sure of clearing 25 per cent."

HEALTH.

" There is no country so free from disease, no bilious fevers, no agues, (so fatal in the United States and Canada) none of the chronic or inflammatory diseases of Europe are found here; small-pox, measles, hooping-cough, are totally unknown. Persons of delicate constitution and indifferent health, persons advanced in life, after a few years' residence in this climate, acquire new vigour and health; the seasons are mild, the heat

and the cold are neither of them extreme; it never happens that a single day's labour is impeded throughout the year by climate; whereas in Canada the ground is covered with snow from December to March! The expense of emigration is not greater than to Canada.

AGRICULTURE.

"Wheat maize (Cobbett corn), barley, oats and rye, are all grown in Australia, but the two first are most cultivated. The skinless barley (or Siberian wheat) arrives at very great perfection.

"*Wheat* is sown from February to July, or even August; but the best months are April, May, and June. *The creeping wheat* may be sown early in February. *Barley* and *oats* from June to middle of August. Maize *(Cobbett corn)* from end of September to middle of December; but October is the best month. It is frequently planted among the wheat, barley, and oats stubbles without ploughing or breaking up the ground, and is frequently thus planted till middle of January, when, if the season proves sufficiently *moist, it yields a very abundant crop.** The average produce of this grain is, on rich flooded lands, from eighty to one hundred bushels per acre, wheat from thirty to forty ditto, and barley and oats about fifty. On forest lands the wheat, barley, and oats are not so abundant, unless the land be manured, but heavier and superior in quality; the forest land wheat weighing about 64lbs. the bushel, and the rich flooded land about 56lbs.

"The wheat harvest commences about November, and finishes about Christmas. The Cobbett corn is ripe in March, and the gathering throughout the colony finished about May. Tobacco succeeds admirably. Hemp, flax, linseed, cotton, vines, olives,

* Mr. Cobbett's admirable treatise on the cultivation and advantages of this corn is strongly recommended, not by Mr. Wentworth, but by *me*. I tried some of this corn and it answered perfectly to all that was stated in his book, as far as the small scale on which I tried it is allowed to be a proof, and why it should *not*, I do not comprehend. My motive for the experiment was, that I heard a gentleman say, "*oh! that is some of Cobbett's d—d* NONSENSE." As I had been a reader of Mr. Cobbett's writings for thirty years, and never found any nonsense, I was resolved to ascertain whether the treatise on his corn was an exception; and the result was that, in a garden at least, Mr. Cobbett's assertions were fully borne out.

all flourish well; as also an abundance of other things too numerous to detail.

HORTICULTURE.

"Potatoes, (but they do not turn out so good in quality in New South Wales as in Van Diemen's Land,) cabbages, carrots, parsenips, turnips, beans, cauliflowers, brocoli, asparagus, lettuces, onions, and all the species of vegetables known in England, are produced in this colony. Though the *quality* of the potatoe degenerates, the crops are abundant, and it is found to pulverize fresh ground and prepare it for wheat, barley, and oats. The colony is famed for the goodness and variety of its fruits: grapes, olives, peaches, apricots, nectarines, oranges, lemons, citrons, loquets, guavas, cherries, Cape, China, and English mulberries, walnuts, Spanish chesnuts, almonds, medlars, quinces, pears, plumbs, figs, pomegranates, raspberries, strawberries, and melons, of all sorts, attain the highest degree of maturity in the open air. Apples, currants, and gooseberries, are inferior in New South Wales, but not so in Van Diemen's Land. A peach stone planted will yield fruit in three years abundantly, and of the finest kind. The pine-apple only requires a common forcing glass.

GRASSES.

"The natural grasses of the colony are good at all seasons of the year, when there is an adequate tract of country to range over; but the raising artificial food for the winter has of late years become very general amongst such as are unwilling to send their flocks and herds into the uninhabited parts of the interior. This practice must gain ground, for it has been observed that the coldness of the climate keeps pace with the progress of agriculture." "The artificial food chiefly cultivated in the colony consists of turnips, tares, lucerne, Cape barley, white clover, and trefoil; English grasses too, particularly the eye-grass, rib-grass, colt's-foot, and meadow-fescue, are beginning to be introduced pretty generally."* "The natural grasses are of themselves rather insufficient to keep British cattle in good heart during the winter when butter is in greatest demand."

The two following tables will perhaps give the agriculturist a good general view of the Colonies of New South Wales and

* I recommend the colonists to inquire about the "*guinea-grass*," so famous in the West Indies. I believe that in any climate where there is a want of rain the guinea-grass turns to great advantage.

Van Diemen's Land. It is true these returns were made ten years ago, but probably the relative produce and prices have not been much altered.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

"' The income of the colonists of New South Wales during the year 1821, amounted to about £471,375, and the following subdivision of it may be taken as a very close approximation to the truth.

	£	s.	d.
17,355 acres of wheat at £7 per acre	121,485	0	0
11,067 acres of maize at £6 per acre.....	66,402	0	0
1,290 acres of barley at £5 per acre	6,450	0	0
623 acres of oats at £5 per acre	3,115	0	0
737 acres of potatoes at £10 per acre ..	7,370	0	0
1,196 acres of orchard at £10 per acre ..	11,960	0	0
Allowing one-eighth of the colonial herds and one-sixth of the sheep and hogs to have been slaughtered, this branch of income will stand, in round numbers, thus:—			
8,519 head of horned cattle at £8 per head	68,152	0	0
19,963 head of sheep at 30s. per head	29,944	0	0
4,840 hogs at £3 each.....	14,520	0	0
Wool of 119,777 sheep, reckoning each fleece to weigh 2 lbs. at 1s. per pound.....	11,977	0	0
2,000 houses in town at a rent of £20 each	40,000	0	0
Seal-skins, hides, whale-oil, &c. exported to England	30,000	0	0
Various other exports to England, Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, India, and China, consisting of timber, coals, oil, sandal-wood, dried seals'-skins, &c.....	10,000	0	0
Bricks, lime, timber, agricultural implements, &c. used in colony or exported to Van Diemen's Land	10,000	0	0
Profits of trade not allowed for above	40,000	0	0
Total.....	£471,375	0	0."

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

" The income or value of the entire produce of Van Diemen's Land may be estimated as follows. By the census taken in 1821 it appears there were 12,966 acres of wheat, 1229 of other grain, 716 acres of potatoes. There were also found to be in possession of the colonists 34,790 head of horned cattle, 170,391 sheep, 4864 hogs, and 550 horses. The wheat may be fairly valued at £7 per acre, gross produce; other grain, barley, peas, beans, oats, &c. at £5; and potatoes at £10. About one-eighth of the horned cattle and one-sixth of the sheep and hogs are annually slaughtered, and may be valued at £8, £1 : 10*s.*, and £3 each respectively, and the wool of each fleece may be estimated at 2lbs. and of 6*d.* per lb. value. The income or gross produce was, therefore, in that year as follows :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
12,966 acres of wheat at £7 per acre	90,762	0	0
1,229 acres of other grain at £5 per acre .	6,145	0	0
716 acres of potatoes at £10 per acre ..	716	0	0
4,349 proportion of horned cattle slaughtered, at £8.....	34,792	0	0
28,398 proportion of sheep slaughtered, at £1 : 10	42,597	0	0
340,782 lbs. of wool at 6*d.* per lb.	8,519	0	0
Oil and skins	15,000	0	0
Timber, bricks, lime, &c.....	15,000	0	0
Profits of trade not included in the above ...15,000		0	0
Total	£234,975	0	0

Mr. Wentworth publishes three letters, written by a friend of his, who, joining in the sage cry of the "*good effects*" which are to attend emigration; and the sad affair of our "*superabundant labour*," makes some very ingenious calculations for depopulating England, Ireland, and Scotland, as far as so *desirable* an object can be accomplished; and if some stumbling blocks did not unhappily intervene to put all these admirable schemes to the rout, we might, in a few years, have the pleasure of reading the Australian political economist's essays upon the practicability and advantage of sending their " superabundant population" *back* to the deserts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, with conjectures why the rich soil of Ireland was abandoned to seek the inferior

soil of Australia? why we go to the Antipodes to get a worse article than we have at home? I am afraid the Australian would be puzzled to find an answer to their inquiries! However, these calculations of Mr. Wentworth's friend may be useful to those who may like to go to Australia; and I therefore recommend the purchase of his book; which, as I have before said, contains all sorts of details on whatever relates to his country. Among others, the following will give a poor emigrant some idea of what he can do. The author supposes the man and his family to consist of four people; that he has a capital of £50, and that government has, by convict labour, prepared his house and farm, charging him with the expense of so doing.

SETTLER'S ACCOUNT WITH GOVERNMENT.

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*	*Cr.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
To preparing the farm ..	25	0	0	By deposit previous to departure	50	0	0
To passage out	80	0	0				
Supplies in colony	58	0	0				
Feeding and clothing a convict labourer, one year.....	14	0	0	Balance due by settler to be paid by instalments of £20 per annum to Government	127	0	0
Total.....	£177	0	0	Total.....	£177	0	0

The settler is for this placed in a farm of sixty acres, with a house; eight and half acres cleared and fenced, and one convict labourer clothed and victualled for a year; the debt to Government to be paid off by instalments of £20 a year.

First Year.

		No. of days' labour, 2 men.
July.	Hoeing and planting half an acre potatoes....	6
	Falling trees on 7½ acres, second field	18
August .. September	Hoeing 7½ acres new land for Cobbett corn ..	45
	Hoeing potatoes twice	2
	Ditto half-acre garden	3
October	Planting 7½ acres Cobbett corn.....	8
	Fencing 40 perches, second field	12
October November	Burning off 7½ acres, second field	45
December	Hoeing Cobbett corn twice.....	12
January	Hoeing and planting ½ acre potatoes & garden	6
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	6

		No. of days' labour, 2 men.
January February	Hoeing second field 7½ acres for wheat	45
March	Planting ditto	8
March April	Falling trees, third field, 7½ acres	18
April	Harvesting 7½ acres Cobbett corn	3
	Fencing third field 30 perches	12
May	Burning off third field 7½ acres	45
June	Garden	6
	Total number of days' labour first year	300

Second Year.

July	Falling trees fourth field 6½ acres	16
	Fencing ditto 30 perches	10
August	Hoeing third field, 7½ acres, for Cobbett corn	45
September	Planting ditto	6
October	Burning off fourth field, 6½ acres	40
November	Hoeing Cobbett corn	4
	Harvesting 7½ acres of wheat and reaping	18
	Hoeing Cobbett Corn	3
December	Threshing	12
	Garden	6
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
January February	Hoeing fourth field, 6½ acres, for wheat, new land	40
	Hoeing first field, 7½ acres, Cobbett corn stubble for rye	15
March	Planting wheat and rye	12
April	Hoeing second field, 7½ acres, wheat stubble for barley	15
	Planting ditto	6
	Harvesting 7½ acres Cobbett corn	6
May	Falling trees fifth field, 7½ acres	18
	Threshing	6
June	Burning off part of fifth field, 4 acres	24
	Total number of days' labour this year	305

		Number of days' labour, 2 men.
	Third Year.	
July	Garden	6
	Burning off remainder of fifth field, 3½ acres	21
August	Hoeing up fifth field, 7½ acres	45
September	Planting ditto with Cobbett's corn	6
October	Fencing fifth field, 70 perches	21
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
November	Reaping and harvesting 7½ acres rye and 7½ barley	24
December	Reaping and harvesting wheat, 6½ acres	15
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
	Threshing	6
January	Garden	3
	Falling trees, sixth field, 7½ acres	18
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
February	Hoeing third field, 7½ Cobbett stubble for wheat	18
March	Hoeing 6½ acres wheat stubble, fourth field for barley	15
	Planting wheat and barley third and fourth fields	12
	Threshing	6
April	Harvesting Cobbett corn, 7½ acres	6
	Threshing	12
May	Burning off sixth field, 7½ acres	40
July	Fencing sixth field, 70 perches	21
	Total number of days' labour, third year	307
	Fourth and every future Year.	
July	Garden	3
	Threshing	12
August	Hoeing sixth field, 7½ acres, new land for Cobbett corn	40
September	Planting ditto	6
October	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
November	Reaping and harvesting 7½ acres rye	12
	Ditto, ditto, 7½ barley	12
	Hoeing Cobbett's corn	3
December	Reaping and harvesting 7½ acres wheat	15
	Hoeing Cobbett's corn	3
	Threshing	6

		Number of days' labour, 2 men.
January	Garden	3
	Hoeing Cobbett corn	3
	Hoeing 7½ acres Cobbett corn stubble for barley	18
February	Hoeing 7½ acres fallow for wheat	18
	Planting 7½ acres of barley	6
March	Planting wheat	6
	Hoeing 7½ acres stubble for rye	18
April	Planting ditto.	6
April	Harvesting 7½ acres Cobbett corn	6
May June	Falling, fencing, burning, &c.	64
	Total number of days' labour, fourth year	263

ESTIMATE OF THE EXPENSE AND PRODUCE OF THIS FARM

First Year.

Expenses.

The Settler, being supplied with every thing by Government, will be at no expense.

Produce.	Bushels.			
Maize (Cobbett corn), 7½ acres, new land, at 30 bushels	225			
Consumed on farm.				
Bread	20			
Pigs	60			
Poultry and sundries	20			
	100			
For sale at 3s.	125	£18	15	0

Balance carried to next year.

Second Year.

Expenditure.

Seed—barley, 15 Bushels at 4*s*.	£3	0	0
Rye—15 ditto, at 4*s*. ditto	3	0	0

Implements	£3	0	0			
Labourers' clothing	3	0	0			
Family ditto	10	0	0			
Tea, sugar, soap, &c.	11	0	0			
Salt, sundries	2	0	0			
				£35	0	0
Balance, excess of produce above expenses				18	10	0
				£53	10	0

Produce.	Bushels.			
Wheat, 7½ acres, new land, at 20	150			
Consumed on farm.				
Bread	25			
Seed	15			
	40			
For sale at 7*s.*	110	£38	10	0
Maize, 7½ acres, new land	225			
Consumed on farm.				
Bread	25			
Seed	2			
Pigs	80			
Poultry	10			
Sundries	8			
	125			
For sale at 3*s.*	100	£15	0	0
		£53	10	0

Third Year.

Expenditure.

Same as last year				£40	0	0
Deduct seed £6,	£29	0	0			
Add, say a third more	11	0	0			
				£40	0	0
Balance, excess of produce over expenses				55	15	0
				£95	15	0

Produce.	Bushels.			
Wheat, 6½ acres, new land	130			
Consumed on farm, same as last year	40			
For sale at 7*s.*	90	£31	10	0
Barley and Rye, 15 acres	300			
Consumed on farm	40			
For sale at 3*s.* 6*d.*	260	45	10	0
Maize, 7½ acres, new land	225			
Consumed on farm	100			
For sale at 3*s.*	125	18	15	0
		£95	15	0

Fourth and every future Year.

Expenditure.			
Same as last year	£40	0	0
One additional convict servant	5	0	0
Balance, produce exceeds expenses	41	15	0
	£86	15	0

Produce.	Bushels.			
Wheat, 7½ acres, at 16 bushels	120			
Consumed on farm	40			
For sale at 7*s.*	80	£28	0	0
Barley and rye, 15 acres, at 20 bushels	300			
Consumed on farm	50			
For sale at 3*s.* 6*d.*	250	43	15	0
Maize, 7½ acres	200			
Consumed on farm	100			
For sale at 3*s.*	100	15	0	0
		£86	15	0

N.B.—The value of a convict labourer is above £20 a year; and, if the emigrant has an able-bodied son old enough to work, he will save £20 a year more than the above balance of £41 15*s.*; if he has more than one son, he will of course save the like sum on each, and it is for this reason that large families are so sure to make their fortune in the Colonies. Mr. Wentworth also makes calculations for capitalists of £100, and £200, giving the most minute details as to building, and every thing relative to the wants of the settler. His exposition of the advantage of Australia over Canada, as a country for receiving emigrants, is worth reading and contrasting with Martin Doyle's "Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada"—not to emigrate at all is better than either, if a man can live at home.

Extracts from the Reverend Henry Carmichael's Hints relating to Emigrants." Published 1834.

1.

"Twenty per cent. on mortgages is not an uncommon return for money so lent. Fifteen per cent. may be taken as the average return to capital so invested."

2.

"Building at present affords a wide field for profitable speculation. The return for capital so invested, making allowance for incidental losses, may be estimated at fully 30 per cent."

The following table was sent home by a society of respectable mechanics, who had been induced to emigrate by an exaggerated statement of the price of wages, compared with the price of provisions in New South Wales, which statement was put forth by "the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament of Great Britain," in July 1831.

Trades.	*Rates of Wages.*	*Remarks.*
Boat-builders,	6*s.* per day,	a few may find employment at present.
Brick-makers,	8 to 10*s.* p. thousand,	ditto.
Brick-layers,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	ditto.
Blacksmiths,	24 to 42*s.* per week,	always find ditto.
Chair-makers,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	in demand.
Carpenters,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	good workmen in ditto.

Trades.	*Rates of Wages.*	*Remarks.*
Caulkers,	7 to 8*s.* per day,	good workmen in demand.
Coopers,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	no certain employment.
Compositors,	at London prices,	a few might find ditto.
Cabinet-makers,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	good workmen find ready employment.
Cooks,	4 to 6*s.* per week,	nearly every establishment employs them.
Dairy-women,	£10 to £12 per ann. with lodging & rations	in extensive demand.
Engineers,	£2 per week & rations,	26 in the Colony, and only 8 in employment at this time, July 1833.
Fencers and field-labourers,	4 to 5*s.* per week, with lodgings and rations,	all field-labourers, if steady, may better their condition in life.
Glaziers,	4 to 6*s.* per day,	in demand.
Harness-makers,	4 to 6*s.* per day,	principally supplied by importation.
Joiners,	5 to 6*s.* per day,	good workmen in ditto.
Iron-founders,		good opening for one of capital and skill.
Locksmiths,		a few good general workmen wanted.
Millwrights,	6 to 7*s.* per day,	but few wanted.
Milk-men,		all kinds of husbandry men in demand.
Nailers,	5 to 6*s.* per day,	steady good workmen may earn more.
House-painters,	4 to 6*s.* per day,	more here than wanted.
Artist-painters,		no encouragement.
Parchment-makers,		good opening. Sheep skins are only one penny to twopence a-piece.
Potters.		Plenty of excellent clay, an opening for the establishment of a pottery.
Plasterers,	5 to 6*s.* per day.	

Trades.	*Rates of Wages.*	*Remarks.*
Ploughmen,	£10 to £12 per ann. with lodgings and rations,	all agricultural labour may be so rated, and find work.
Printers & Pressmen,	25 to 35*s.* per week,	a few wanted.
Saddlers,	4 to 5*s.* per day,	chiefly supplied by importation.
Shoe-makers,	5 to 7*s.* per day,	in great demand, some earn 10*s.* per day.
Sawyers,	6*s.* per hundred feet.	
Shipwrights,	6 to 7*s.* per day.	
Stone-masons, Stone-cutters, Stone setters,	4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* per day,	much in demand.
Quarrymen,	3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per day,	
Sailors,	£3 per month,	demand moderate.
Tailors,	25 to 40*s.* per week,	in great demand.
Vine-dressers,	*£10 to £40 per ann. with hut and rations,*	gardeners always in demand; the vine begins to be extentensively cultivated.
Upholsterers,	*5 to 7s. per day,*	a good opening for a person of taste and capital.
Wheelwrights,	*5 to 6s. per day,*	In the country they have from £15 to £20 per ann., with hut and rations.

" The above embraces all those departments of mechanical and common labour for which there is at present any adequate demand in the Colony: with regard to the statement contained in the papers published by the *Emigration Committee of Parliament*, which represents the rate of wages as follows:

First rate mechanic,	12 to 15*s.* per day.	And to mechanics of peculiar qualification, and agricultural labourers, capable of managing farms in the capacity of Bailiff, £1 per day.
Second ditto,	8 to 12*s.* per day.	
Third ditto.	7 to 10*s.* per day.	
Common labourers,	3 to 0*s.* per day.	

"The committee of *mechanics* observe, that, after the most diligent inquiry, they pronounce this schedule, with reference to the rate of wages at present in existence, *extravagant and ridiculous.*"

"The rations which are allowed to free labourers, may be rated, per week, as follows:

	lbs.	oz.		lbs.	oz.
Flour	10	0	Salt	0	2
Beef and mutton	10	0	Soap	0	2
Tea	0	2	Milk, 7 quarts, this is given		
Sugar	1	0	in lieu of tea and sugar.		
Tobacco	0	2			

"So that common labourers, if well behaved and industrious, *are sure to raise themselves above the situation which they occupied at home.*"

No. 2.

The following statement of facts is made in order to promote the formation of a Company for carrying on the Sperm and Black Whale Fisheries from the Port of Sydney, in New South Wales, to be called

"The Australian Whaling Company."

In the formation of such a Company it is necessary, in the first place, to obtain the support and direction of some influential persons, and, with that view, the following sketch is submitted for inspection to shew that a permanent and liberal interest is likely to be derived therefrom by shareholders.

It is well known that the present mode of carrying on the Sperm Whale Fishery from the Port of London is attended with serious disadvantages; a vast deal of time and labour are lost in proceeding to and returning from the several places where this fishery is prosecuted, a South Sea Whaler from London being usually absent near three years, occasioning a serious protraction of returns or profit on the capital employed, much waste of time and labour, with the loss of interest, freight, &c.

It is to obviate these losses that the proposed Company is sought to be established, and the following statement, it is pre-

sumed, will clearly shew that, besides doing so, it affords many additional advantages.

1st. Sydney possesses one of the finest and most commodious harbours in the world, and is situated *in the immediate vicinity* of the *best* sperm and black whaling grounds.

2dly. That vessels employed from Sydney *could make two voyages, and be partly on a third*, in the same space of time that vessels from London usually occupy in one voyage, thus obtaining a much larger quantity of oil, &c., making quicker returns, and saving interest of money.

3dly. Provisions and other necessaries may be there obtained on lower terms than in England.

4th. A considerable portion of the outfit, &c. of the proposed Company's ships could be defrayed from the proceeds of their outward freight to Sydney.

5th. The coasts of New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, &c. abound with black whales, and a full cargo of black oil is generally procured *within* six months.

6th. An immediate shipment of the oil, &c. obtained can, at all times, be made for England on very low terms, by return convict ships or regular traders, and it is presumed that leakage might be greatly prevented by the opportunity thus offered of coopering the casks.

7th. The buildings required for the purpose of the Company would not be very considerable, a substantial enclosure, sheds, &c. being the chief requisites.

8th. The great success and consequent large profits hitherto derived by vessels employed in these fisheries from Sydney, and the anxiety of the residents to engage therein, are strong arguments in favour of the proposed Company.

It is want of capital alone that prevents their being carried on from thence more extensively than they now are.

From the Appendix, No. 1, hereto annexed, detailing the cost, outfit, returns, &c. of a sperm whaler from London, and one from Sydney, allowing each a period of three years, it will be seen that the latter derives a clear profit beyond the former of near £9000, and subsequent voyages will, of course, augment such advantages in the manner of compound interest.

The Appendix, No. 2, is a Sydney Price Current, and rather above the usual average.

From the careful perusal and investigation of this concise, and by no means, flattering statement, it will be apparent that an

investment of capital, affording a better prospect of advantage, could scarcely be suggested.

When a sufficient number of proper persons shall have signified their wish to become Directors, a meeting of them will be immediately called, and a Prospectus, explanatory of the objects of the proposed Company, submitted to them for inspection and approval, detailing, more fully than can be done in the present sketch, the important advantages which the shareholders may justly expect to derive therefrom, and imparting much valuable information.

London, October, 1832.

P.S. Notwithstanding the dearth of profitable employment for British shipping, the supply of sperm oil annually imported into England is very short of the quantity required for home consumption only! We supply no other country with it; but the Americans have now nearly one hundred vessels employed in the South Sea fisheries, from whence they derive annually nearly one million sterling.

British vessels employed in the sperm and black whale fisheries *from Sydney* would enjoy immense advantages over American vessels, and the proposed Company, besides supplying the quantity of oil required *here*, could successfully compete with the Americans in supplying other countries.

Statement of the cost and outfit of a sperm whaler from London of about 300 *tons, victualled, &c. for the voyage.*

	£	s.	£	s.
To cost of *a good vessel* of near 300 tons in sufficient repair			4,000	0
Amount paid for sundries, viz.				
Insurance against fire	4	10		
Custom House expenses	50	0		
Steam-boat towing-out	20	0		
Medicines, &c. &c.	20	0		
Postages, petty accounts, &c.....	20	0		
			114	10
Sundry stores, provisions, &c.				
Potatoes	20	0		
Butchers' meat	20	0		
Beer	5	0		
Carried forward			4,114	10

	£	s.	£	s.
Brought forward			4,114	10
Vinegar, pickles, &c.	40	0		
Coals	30	0		
Firewood and dunnage.....	80	0		
Groceries	45	0		
Preserved meats and soups	50	0		
Wine, spirits, and beer	100	0		
Sundry hardware	60	0		
Eighteen month's salt provisions ..	400	0		
Do. bread, &c.	300	0		
			1,150	0
Fishing stores, &c.				
Three hundred tons of casks	1,000	0		
Copper coolers	65	0		
Six whale boats	100	0		
Materials to repair do.	20	0		
Whale lines	400	0		
Harpoons, lances, &c.....	130	0		
			1,715	0
To paid sundry disbursements	150	0		
Advances, &c. to crew	150	0		
Allowances for incidental expenses ..	250	0		
			550	0
To paid for ships' stores, &c.				
Sail account	500	0		
Block account	150	0		
Spun-yarn, tar, and pitch	60	0		
Mast and yards account	200	0		
Ropes	150	0		
Ship chandlery.....	150	0		
Rigging	35	0		
			1,245	0
Insurance for voyage			1,200	0
Provisions and sundries during do. ..			750	0
Interest on capital			1,200	0
Entire outlay, &c.			£11,924	10

Cr.

	£	s.	£	s.
By net proceeds of her probable cargo say				
Two hundred tons of oil, at £55 ..	11,000	0		
Head matter, &c.	2,000	0		
			13,000	0
Deduct officers' and seamens' shares ..			3,500	0
			£9,500	0

The above account shews that the returns do not equal the outlay by the sum of £2,424, and the profit on the voyage will be the value of the vessel, with her stores, &c. beyond the said sum; thus *the clear profit* may be fairly stated as £1,000 on a favourable voyage.

Statement of cost of a sperm whaler for two voyages from Sydney, with her probable returns, &c. &c.

	£	s.	£	s.
To entire cost of a vessel, &c. similar to that in Appendix, including additional casks, fishing stores, insurance, and every requisite for making two voyages from Sydney			13,250	0
Allowances for increase on shares of officers and men			500	0
			£13,750	0

Cr.

	£	s.	£	s.
By interest of money saved	900	0		
Outward freight, &c.	350	0		
Saving of leakage, wear, and tare of vessels, stores, &c. &c.	450	0		
Saving of provisions, time, &c.	350	0		
Nett proceeds of 360 tons of oil, (probable cargoes,) at £50	18,000	0		
Head matter, bone, &c. &c. 60 tons	3,000	0		
	£23,050	0		
Deduct for shares, &c.	3,500	0		
			19,550	0
			£5,800	0

On comparing the preceding statements it will seem that a vessel making two voyages from Sydney in the sperm whale fishery, (which she can do in less time than is required for making one voyage from England,) will generally procure such a quantity of oil, &c. as will *nett*, with the interest and various savings specified, the sum of £19,550—thus yielding, *within* the same space of time, £9,550 more than the vessel from England would realize!

However surprising this may appear it is strictly true, as an investigation of the accounts will prove most satisfactory, and I may add that these are made out rather unfavourable towards Sydney.

For example *the nett proceeds* of the sperm whaler's voyage from England are £9,500—*the nett proceeds* of two voyages from Sydney will be £19,050, which gives an excess of £9,550, besides the value of the ship and stores which, in both cases, may be estimated at about £3,500.

To render it more intelligible it may be briefly stated as under—

From England, (1 voyage.)	£	s.	From Sydney, (2 voyages.)	£	s.
Entire Cost.....	11,224	10	Entire cost	13,750	0
Nett proceeds....	9,550	0	Nett proceeds	1,9550	0
Unpaid	2,424	10	Surplus	5,800	0
Value of ship ...	3,575	10	Value of Ship....	3,575	10
Profit	£1,151	0	Profit	£9,375	10

No. 3.

STURT'S SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA, VOL. I.

SHEEP.—*Farming Returns, shewing the increase in four years from two Breeding flocks consisting of* 670 *ewes in lamb.*

A. 1st June, 1828.

Flocks.	Breeding Ewes.		Lambs.		Total.	Remarks.	
	2 yrs old	3 yrs old	Male.	Female.			
							Lambs.
No. 1	330	—	148	149	627	Deaths 6	Increase 297
2	—	330	154	154	638	4	308
					1265	10	605

Abstract.

Purchased Two Flocks of Ewes at 84*s.* ..	670	Ewes
Increase of Lambs	605	
Casual Deaths	10	595
Total as per Return		1265

B. 1st June, 1829.

Flocks.	Breeding Ewes.	Maiden Ewes.	Wethers.	Rams.	Lambs.		Total	Remarks.	
					M.	F.			
									Lambs.
No. 1, 3 yrs	327				154	154	635	Deaths 3	Increase 308
2, 4 yrs	326				155	155	636	4	310
3, 1 yr		302					302	1	618
4, 1 yr			302	18			320	8	
							1893		

* The increase throughout these returns is calculated at from 270 to 290 lambs to 300 ewes, which is the usual average in New South Wales.

Abstract.

Return A, Total		1265
Increase by Lambing	618	
Increase by Rams purchased	18	
	636	
Casual Deaths	8	628
Total as per Return		1893

C. 1st June, 1829.

Flocks.	Breeding Ewes.	Maiden Ewes.	Wethers.	Rams.	Lambs. M.	Lambs. F.	Total	Remarks.	Lambs.
No. 1, 2 yrs	296				133	133	562	Deaths 6 Increase 266	
2, 4 yrs	325				150	150	625	2	300
3, 5 yrs	326				160	160	646		320
4, 2 yrs			302	27			329		886
5, 1 yr			309				309		
6, 1 yr		309					309	3 Rams died. 12 Rams purchased.	
							2780		

Abstract.

Return B, Total		1893
Increase by Lambing	886	
Increase by Rams purchased	12	
	898	
Deaths	11	887
Total as per Return		2780

D. 1st June, 1831.

Flocks.	Breeding Ewes.	Maiden Ewes.	Wethers.	Rams.	Lambs. M.	Lambs. F.	Total	Remarks.		
										Lambs.
No. 1, 2 yrs	304				136	136	576	Deaths 5	Increase 272	
2, 3 yrs	293				135	136	564	8		271
3, 5 yrs	324				156	156	636	1		312
4, 6 yrs	320				156	156	632	2		
								Killed 4		312
										1167
5, 3 yrs			300				300	Deaths 2		
6, 2 yrs			308				308	1		
7, 1 yr			443				443	–		
8, 1 yr		442					442	1		
9				40			40	5		
							3941	20		
								Purchased 12		

Abstract.

Return C, Total		2780
Increased by Lambing	1167	
Increased by Rams purchased	18	
	1185	
Casual Deaths, 20. Killed for use, 4 ..	24	1161
		3941

E. 1st June, 1832.

Flocks.	Breeding Ewes.	Maiden Ewes.	Wethers.	Rams.	Lambs. M.	Lambs. F.	Total	Remarks.		
										Lambs.
No. 1, 2 yrs	344				154	154	652	Dths 6		Inc. 308
2, 3 yrs	344				162	161	667	4		323
4, 3 yrs	342				164	165	671	3		329
5, 6 yrs	320				155	155	630	2 kill'd	2	310
6, 7 yrs	300				145	145	590	2	18	290
7, 4 yrs			300				300			1560
8, 3 yrs			302				302	2		
9, 2 yrs			440				440	1	2	
10, 1 yr			583				583		22	
11, 1 yr		584					584			
12				45			45	5	Purchased 10	
	1650	584	1625	45	780	780	5464	25	Casual Deaths.	

Abstract.

Return D, Total		3941
Increase by Lambing	1560	
Increase by purchase of Rams	10	
	1570	
Decrease by Casual Death	25	
Decrease by slaughtered for use	22	
	47	1523
Grand Total (as above)		5464

Memorandum.—The deaths have been calculated at the lowest rate under the best management. It may be safer to assume a rate of four or five per cent. per annum.

Account of Expenditure and Income upon Sheep stock in Australia, appended to Returns A, B, C, D, and E.

1st Year (Return A) June, 1829.

Income.	£	s.	d.			
By 1265 Fleeces, average weight 2¼ lbs., 2846 lbs. wool, at 1s. 6d. per lb.	213	9	0			
Expenditure.	£	s.	d.			
To 2 Shepherds at £30 ..	60	0	0			
To 1 Watchman	20	0	0			
To Hurdles, &c.	10	0	0			
				£90	0	0
				Profit.		
				£123	9	0

2d Year (B) June, 1830.

Income.	£	s.	d.			
By 1893 Fleeces, at 2¼ lbs., 4259 lbs. wool, at 1s. 6d. per lb.	319	8	6			
Expenditure	£	s.	d.			
To 2 Shepherds at £30 ..	60	0	0			
To 2 do. £20 ..	40	0	0			
To 1 Watchman	20	0	0			
To Hurdles, &c.	5	0	0			
	£125	0	0			
To 18 Rams, at £10*	180	0	0			
				305	0	0
				£14	8	6

3d Year (C) June, 1831.

Income.	£	s.	d.			
By 2780 Fleeces, at 2¼ lbs., 6255 lbs. wool, at 1s. 6d. per lb.	469	2	6			
Expenditure.	£	s.	d.			
To 2 Shepherds at £30 ..	60	0	0			
To 1 do., £25 ..	25	0	0			
To 3 do. £20 ..	60	0	0			
To 2 Watchmen £20 ..	40	0	0			
To Hurdles, &c.	10	0	0			
	£195	0	0			
To 12 Rams, at £10	120	0	0			
				315	0	0
				£154	2	6

* The price of rams will probably fall to £5.

4th Year (D) June, 1832.

Income.	£	s.	d.
By 3941 Fleeces, at 2¼ lbs., 8867 lbs. wool, at 1s. 6d. per lb.	665	0	0

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.			
To 2 Shepherds at £30	60	0	0			
To 2 do. £25	50	0	0			
To 4 do. £20	80	0	0			
To 3 Watchmen £20 (1 to take charge of Rams)	60	0	0			
To Hurdles, &c.	10	0	0			
	£260	0	0			
To 18 Rams, at £10	180	0	0			
				440	0	0
					£225	0 0

5th Year (E) June, 1833.*

Income.	£	s.	d.
By 5464 Fleeces, at 2¼ lbs., 12,294 lbs. wool, at 1s. 6d. per lb.	922	0	0

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.			
To 2 Shepherds at £30	60	0	0			
To 3 do. £25	75	0	0			
To 5 do. £20	100	0	0			
To 3 Watchmen £20	60	0	0			
To Hurdles, &c.	20	0	0			
	£315	0	0			
To 10 Rams, at £10	100	0	0			
				415	0	0
					£507	0 0

Nett Profit by Sales of Wool in Five Years £1024 0 0

£1024 divided by 5, gives £204 : 8 for annual interest on the original capital of £2814 (about 7¼ per cent. per annum) in addition to the accumulation of capital itself, shown by the valuation of stock.

* These accounts are a year in advance of the sheep returns, in order to bring them to the time at which the wool would be sold.

Valuation of Sheep, June, 1832, Return E.

1614	Ewes from 1 to 4 years old, £3 each	£4842	0	0
620	Ewes from 4 to 7 years old, 2 each	1240	0	0
780	Female Lambs, £2 each	1560	0	0
2405	Wethers and Male Lambs, 15*s.* each	1803	0	0
45	Rams (original cost £450)	400	0	0
		£9845	0	0

Note.—About £500 would be added to the income on the fifth year, by the sale of Wethers of 3 and 4 years old.

The cost of rams ought, strictly, to be added to capital and not deducted from income, but these returns were made out in their present form at the request of a gentleman proceeding to the Colony with a limited capital, and who wished to know how much he might safely invest in sheep.

No. 4.

Monday Morning, 9 o'clock,
3d November, 1834.

My dear Sir,—As the scheme of colonising a part of the south coast of Australia, which was I believe originally projected in 1831, and after combating many objections, has at length met with the sanction of government, is now said to be likely to be brought to bear—a governor having actually been appointed to go out to form the nucleus of the new colony,—a variety of discussion has of late taken place among my friends—*all* most favourable to colonization on practicable grounds—on the feasibility of the proposed plan.

To those gentlemen, among other matter of some moment, I have expressed my doubts of there being a permanent supply of fresh water on any part of the coast of the intended grant; and with reference to the internal country, (excepting of such portions of it as may fall within the eastern limit of the proposed province, viz. those parts through which the Murray river flows,) absolutely nothing is known of its character in that respect; and, therefore, no one can at this moment say, whether it will be found, on examination, a well-watered country, capable of sustaining an unlimited population, or a land wholly destitute of the requisites

necessary to support human existence! In the course of the little conversations we have had together lately on the subject of the plan put forth in settling South Australia, I have, I believe, observed to you, that the observations of a number of years' sojourn in New South Wales, on the indigenous vegetation—on the prevalent rock formation of the parts that have been explored —and as far as we have gathered, of its system of internal rivers, have decidedly led me to consider that country as one constitutionally of a most dry character—a country in which its internal rivers (those flowing interiorly from the western flanks of the great dividing range) can never be of use for navigable purposes, excepting in the rare seasons of heavy rains, when they flow with rapid current: and that as it cannot be, for a great length of time, a land in which extensive cultivation would meet with encouragement, the population that may occupy its better tracts, must be for the most part a pastoral community, necessarily requiring, in consequence of the characteristic thinness of the natural pasturage, a large surface on which to graze sheep.

Without going further into the view I have been led to take of the natural capabilities of Australia, I will briefly notice, at your request, and as it may be advanced as some proof of the extreme natural *dryness* of that vast country to which I have just adverted, a most remarkable economy in the leaves of the mass of the *eucalypti* and *acaciæ*, two genera of plants, the species of which if taken together, as that most able philosophical botanist, Mr. Brown, observes, " and considered with respect to the mass of vegetable matter they contain, calculated from the size as well as the number of individuals, are perhaps nearly equal to all the plants of that continent," and hence they constitute a principal feature of the forests of that extensive region.

You are aware that physiologists have long known *leaves* of plants to be at once organs of respiration, digestion, nutrition, and absorption. You have of course observed in England, and, as you have been a traveller, in other countries too, the common position in which the leaf is placed on the branch, viz. so that the upper surface of that organ is turned towards the heavens. This is the usual position of the leaves of the bulk of vegetable productions of the world. In Australia, however, the trees, that form the mass of its forests, are furnished with thick coriaceous leaves (or organs performing the functions of leaves) so placed on the branch as to present their margin to the stem, and consequently, with respect to light, both surfaces have the same rela-

tion! Now, there must be some good and sufficient reason in this peculiarity in the position of the leaves of those two great genera of plants of that country. It is not the result of accident or of exuberant growth, for under every circumstance of situation it uniformly takes place, so that the real cause of it must be sought for, I should say, in some physical characteristic or *defect* of the country itself.

The experience of a period, now verging on half a century, has shown the New South Wales farmer how little he has to depend upon any thing like a regularity in the return of seasons, with regard to drought and humidity; that periods have repeatedly occurred, after short intervals of heavy rains, which have produced overwhelming floods, of *droughts* succeeding, which have, by *their* continuance for two and even three years, caused extreme distress throughout the country, by having in many instances destroyed exotic plants in gardens exposed to their full influence — burnt up the native pasturage — dried all the secondary streams — and left all the indigenous timber trees and shrubs to struggle for an existence as well as they could. It may be here observed, however, that during those protracted seasons of distress, the dews at night have been always proportionately heavy; and, *as* Mr. Brown has, in pursuing a series of microscopic inquiries regarding the anatomical structure of the leaves of Australian vegetation, remarked certain *stomata* or cutaneous glands to exist on *both surfaces*, there can scarcely be a doubt, I think, of both paginæ being by those pores, or some other peculiar organization, most powerful absorbents,* and thus the

* In support of this position I'll just mention a fact. In the midst of a drought of two years' continuance, I recollect to have observed, with surprize, certain shrubs in the wild country growing luxuriantly, and some of them were even advancing to a flowering state. Desirous of ascertaining how far an exuberant growth and a manifest disposition to flower in such a season of distress, had been urged by nourishment derived from its roots, I selected for examination a tall shrubby acacia, *pushing* at all its branchlets and bearing its flower-buds. I dug carefully round about the roots, and taking up the entire plant with its roots uninjured, in a ball of *earth*, found the *latter* perfectly hard and without the least moisture; and although I penetrated two feet lower to the clayey subsoil, I still found the earth extremely dry, by reason of the long continuance of the drought; in truth, it was abundantly demonstrative of the considerable period that had elapsed since any rain had fallen to penetrate beneath the mere surface. Whence then, may I ask, did those luxuriant growing shrubs, whose roots did not penetrate a foot beneath the surface, derive their support but by those double recipients, the two peculiarly organized surfaces of their vertically placed leaves?

vertical position of the foliage of the prevalent timbers of that country may be satisfactorily explained, by considering it an arrangement of nature, by which both surfaces can equally take up the falling dew in a quantity sufficient to renovate the plant, so as to enable it more fully to meet the distressing exigences of the succeeding day.

I will just remark, that this economy in the leaves of certain of the native trees of that southern continent, speaks a volume of itself, in proof of its prevalent disposition to drought, independent of what the experience of nearly fifty years' residence on its eastern coast, and other considerations, have afforded us to confirm the fact. With these proofs before you of the natural disposition of that country generally to drought, I'll leave you to say how far it is at all practicable in the commissioners appointed to conduct the proposed plan of South Australian Colonization, to carry into effect their design of concentration and combined labour—in other terms, to oblige the colonists, huddled into a corner of their vast grant of waste land, to pursue, by a combination of *downright* labour, those refined and extravagant systems of husbandry which the projectors have so fully contemplated.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

---

*To Captain * * *, &c. &c.*

The above is a very important letter; it is written by an able man who resided long in New South Wales, but it must not alarm those who wish to colonize. The writer does not wish to do this, his object is to call the attention of the reader to difficulties, not to assert that such difficulties are insurmountable. Mr. * * * was not himself at Spencer's Gulph—his knowledge of the east part of the island, or continent, of Australia is perhaps greater than that of most other men, but he has not an equal knowledge of the southern portion where the new grant lies, and some of his conjectures are met by the contradiction of men less scientific perhaps, but who have been on the spot. I have heard, for example, that during a three years' drought in the east, the Swan River settlement was absolutely deluged! And this accords with what the writer of the above letter himself told me, namely, that he believed the prevalent south-westerly winds would carry the vapours from the ocean against that part of Australia, which would thereby have rain, when the eastern part,

sheltered by the range of the Blue Mountains, (which run in a northern and southern direction,) would be without the same supply; all this favours Spencer's Gulph. Again, the writer told me that he believes the range of the Blue Mountains to be the spine of this continent, if so, the vapours which strike against them, and fall in rain, must be collected, and carried to Spencer's Gulph by the great rivers: or else be absorbed by the soil, which will thus be filled with moisture; in either case, water must be found in these regions, and probably in greater abundance than in the eastern side of the mountains. Still the question remains unanswered—WHERE is this water?—its site?—its qualities?—its quantity?—its continuance in time of long droughts? Before we build a large town we must know *exactly* all these matters.

As to the extraordinary fact stated relative to the leaves of trees, I have no doubt but that the writer's conjectures are correct and that this curious circumstance does indicate a very dry climate, and thereon I have to remark that, in this, there is nothing to alarm us. We know that damp is favourable to *vegetable*, but not to *human* life; now the first thing is health, and the dryness of Australia is said to produce *health to man* beyond, far beyond, all other climates in the world. The only answer which we can make to those who fear this great want of moisture is this: you prefer rhumatism, agues, and coughs, provided you have fine large cabbages, to being in robust health and having no cabbages! We cannot have all things in this life: out of Paradise we have been turned. The choice, then, is between a dry country with its difficulties and health, or a damp country with its difficulties, and less health. Doctors and cabbages, or no doctors, and no cabbages. But we must have rain enough to drink? and so there is! neither the savage, or the kangaroo, or the emu, have *leaves*, yet they all manage to get drink; and so shall we. The above animals have no art by which to get water that does not appear on the surface of the land—we have; and, by such arts, we shall get it in greater abundance. All our difficulty is to fix upon a spot, where, either by art or nature, *we are sure to be supplied abundantly*. Now, to do this is a very great difficulty; and in the consideration of the subject the above letter is very valuable. The writer is not opposed to the colony; on the contrary, I believe he wishes it every success; he merely states his opinions—I consider this to be the conduct of a friend. I have, myself, stated all the difficulties that I can hear of, and assuredly I am not an enemy of the colony, being ready to em-

bark with it! I know of no difficulty that I have not endeavoured to point out in the strongest colours. Let us see the *worst* that can happen, and if we be prepared for *that*, we go out with half the battle won. For example, every engineer that accompanies the colony will, on reading what I have said, at once seek out all the information that he can collect relative to water-works in dry countries like Egypt, and so forth; he will prepare his mind for such matters. The first step towards overcoming a difficulty is to learn its full extent. "*Who would have thought it*," is a bad companion in the eleventh hour; especially in a desert!

No. 5.

John Jones sailed from Launceston June, 1833, as commander of the Henry, schooner, of 55 tons, belonging to Mr. Reed, on a whaling expedition. He first touched at Kangaroo Island, near Kangaroo Head; and early in July, 1833, he crossed over to Cape Jervis, on the southern side of which, about eight miles from the western point, he found a small bay, not laid down in any chart, affording good shelter and anchorage for vessels of 400 tons, with a small stream of water running into it. He landed here, and ascended the highest part of the Cape, from which he had an extensive view of the country on all sides, as well as of the waters of Gulf St. Vincent: the land was very fine, the soil rich, and covered with fine grass to the very top: the timber was gum, she-oak, and wattle, but no scrub. The rise of the tide varies from two to eight feet. The tides on the coast are very variable, being much influenced by the wind, and only one tide in twenty-four hours.

There is another and much larger bay on the north side of the Cape, just behind the point named by Flinders the N. W. High Bluff, which point, he says, projects much more than is laid down by Flinders, and shelters the bay from westerly winds. Vessels lying at anchor in this bay are protected from all winds, with the exception of from the north to west and by north.

Four streams discharge themselves into this bay, and there is plenty of water in them at all times of the year; he went there in January, 1834, from Kangaroo Island, for water, of which he procured abundance of very good quality, at which time there was no water on Kangaroo Island, there having been a long

drought; he also states that the water found on the island will not keep long at sea. The coast of Cape Jervis rises abruptly from the water's edge, there being no beach; and vessels may anchor in deep water close to the shore.

There are several other streams of fine water all along the eastern side of Gulf St. Vincent. Sturt river is always open to the sea, but the others are closed by a bar of sand during the summer, through which the water filters. The inlet, miscalled by Sturt Sixteen Mile Creek, is a stream of fresh water, and is much deeper and wider than the rest. About fifteen or twenty miles north of this river, he discovered a fine harbour, sheltered by an island at its entrance; the southern passage through which he entered is about one mile wide, with three and a half to four fathoms water; he anchored here in three and a half fathoms, and remained a day and a night. He did not land on the main, but was on shore on the island, which is about three miles in circumference; it is sandy, but there is abundance of fresh water in it, as well as some streams running into the harbour from the main land. He was ashore in numerous places all along the coast, and went three or four miles inland; the country he saw was very fine, the soil rich and black, the grass very high and thick, and the country abounding in kangaroo and emues; the hind-quarters of one kangaroo here killed weighed 105 lbs. The country is not very thickly wooded; open spots of 400 to 500 acres occur frequently, and there is no scrub on any part. He met a tribe of natives on Cape Jervis, consisting of ten families; five of the men worked for him occasionally, and two were with him constantly for near five months. They were very useful, and willing to work for a trifling remuneration. To the two who remained with him long he gave pistols, powder, and shot; to the others slop-clothing. He saw their women and children only at a distance, and saw no other natives on the rest of the coast along Gulf St. Vincent; but their fires were very numerous. He considers Cape Jervis and the eastern shores of Gulf St. Vincent as the best adapted for a settlement of any part of the coast which he has seen. Has been on those coasts for three years, during all seasons of the year, and was never inconvenienced for want of water. Neither he nor any of his crew were ever annoyed by the natives, although some of the crew frequently slept on shore. The dogs he used for kangaroo hunting were between a greyhound and a terrier: he recommends greyhound bitches to be taken from

England by persons going there, to be crossed with the dogs found at Kangaroo Island.

When he was last at Kangaroo Island there were seven Englishmen living on the Island, and five native women; the men formed part of the crews of different sealers, who had been left on the Island: no runaway convicts were amongst them. They reside on the eastern end of the Island, opposite Cape Jervis; one, of the name of Whalley, has been fourteen years on the Island; another, called Nathaniel Thomas, and James Allen, an Irishman, have been there seven years; William Day (who is a partner of Whalley's in sealing) lives at Napean-Bay, with a man named William Walker.

I have read the above, and find it all correct.

JOHN JONES.

No. 6.

6, John-street, Adelphi,
8th April, 1832.

SIR,—As I understand that your book on South Australia is in the press, containing an account of Jones's evidence on the soil, &c. of the East Coast of Gulf St. Vincent, I beg leave to add that, in an interview which Mr. Brown and I had with him since the writing of the paper I gave you, he stated that he was desirous to add that the opinion in that paper, as to the goodness of the soil, was not formed from his own judgement, but was that of the landsmen who accompanied him, and who were all farmers, or farmers' sons, from the neighbourhood of Launceston, and who were of opinion that the land there was equal, if not superior, to any near that town.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. S. KINGSTON.

To Colonel Napier.

I insert Mr. Kingston's note, because there are many who attach much importance to the fertility of the soil. I confess that

I do not; I have not the slightest doubt of the fertility of the soil; nor have I the slightest doubt but that industry will make any soil fertile; the less fertile a country is, the greater the stimulus to industry; it is not a *bad soil* but a *bad Government* that crushes industry and spreads ruin; *taxes*, not *rocks*, starve men; industry will make even rocks produce something to support life; but taxes produce only despair. I have no doubt of the excellence of the soil on the shores of Australia, but this is not the difficulty. The difficulty is in the want of information, founded on experience, as to the supply of water; and on this point all we can say is, that we shall not be worse off than the other colonies, and they flourish! Why, then, should not we do the same? We shall do so, and in a greater degree.

No. 7.

An Act to empower His Majesty to erect South Australia into a British Province or Provinces, and to provide for the Colonization and Government thereof. Will. IV. c. 95.

Whereas that part of *Australia* which lies between the meridians of the one hundred and thirty-second and one hundred and forty-first degrees of east longitude, and between the southern ocean and twenty-six degrees of south latitude, together with the island adjacent thereto, consist of waste and unoccupied lands which are supposed to be fit for the purposes of colonization; and whereas divers of His Majesty's subjects possessing amongst them considerable property are desirous to embark for the said part of *Australia*: and whereas it is highly expedient that His Majesty's said subjects should be enabled to carry their said laudable purposes into effect: and whereas the said persons are desirous that in the said intended colony an uniform system in the mode of disposing of waste lands should be permanently established: be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in the present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, to erect within that part of *Australia* which lies between the meridians of the one hundred and thirty-second and one hundred and forty-

first degrees of east longitude, and between the southern ocean and the twenty-six degrees of south latitude, together with all and every the islands adjacent thereto, and the bays and gulfs thereof, with the advice of his Privy Council, to establish one or more provinces and to fix the respective bounderies of such provinces; and that all and every person who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within His Majesty's said province or provinces shall be free, and shall not be subject to be bound by any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions which have been heretofore made, or which hereafter shall be made, ordered, or enacted by, for, or as the laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of any other part of *Australia*, but shall be subject to and bound to obey such laws, orders, statutes, and constitutions as shall from time to time, in the manner herein-after directed, be made, ordered, and enacted for the government of His Majesty's province or provinces of *South Australia*.

II. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, by any order or orders to be by him or them made with the advice of his or their Privy Council, to make, ordain, and subject to such conditions and restrictions as to him and them shall seem meet, to authorize and empower any one or more persons resident and being within any one of the said provinces to make, ordain, and establish all such laws, institutions, or ordinances, and to constitute such courts, and appoint such officers, and also such chaplains and clergymen of the established church of *England* or *Scotland*, and to impose and levy such rates, duties, and taxes, as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of His Majesty's subjects and others within the said province or provinces; provided that all such orders, and all laws and ordinances so to be made as aforesaid, shall be laid before the King in Council as soon as conveniently may be after the making and enacting thereof respectively, and that the same shall not in anywise be contrary or repugnant to any of the provisions of this Act.

III. And be it therefore enacted, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under the sign manual, to be countersigned by His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to appoint three or more fit persons to be Commissioners to carry certain parts of this act, and the powers and authorities herein-after contained, into execution, and also from time to time at pleasure to remove any of the Commissioners for the time being, and upon every or any vacancy in the said

number of Commissioners, either by removal or by death or otherwise, to appoint some other fit persons to the said office; and until such appointment, it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing Commissioners or Commissioner to act as if no such vacancy had occurred.

V. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall be styled "The Colonization Commissioners for *South Australia*;" and the said Commissioners or any two of them may sit from time to time, as they deem expedient, as a Board of Commissioners for carrying certain parts of this Act into execution.

V. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall cause to be made a seal of the said Board, and shall cause to be sealed or stamped therewith all rules, orders, and regulations made by the said Commissioners in pursuance of this Act; and all such rules, orders, and regulations, and copies thereof, purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the said Board, shall be received as evidence of the same respectively without any further proof thereof; and no such rule, order, or regulation, or copy thereof, shall be valid, or have any force or effect, unless the same shall be so sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

VI. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall and they are hereby empowered to declare all the lands of the said province or provinces (excepting only portions which may be reserved for roads and footpaths) to be public lands, open to purchase by *British* subjects, and to make such orders and regulations for the surveying and sale of such public lands at such price as the said Commissioners may from time to time deem expedient, and for the letting of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof as to the said Commissioners may seem meet, for any period not exceeding three years; and from time to time to alter and revoke such orders and regulations, and to employ the monies from time to time received as the purchase money of such lands, or as rent of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof, in conducting the emigration of poor persons from *Great Britain* or *Ireland* to the said province or provinces: provided always, that no part of the said public lands shall be sold except in public for ready money, and either by auction or otherwise as may seem best to the said Commissioners, but in no case and at no time for a lower price than the sum of twelve shillings sterling *per English* acre: provided also, that the sum *per* acre which the said Commissioners may declare during

any period to be the upset or selling price at which public lands shall be sold shall be an uniform price; (that is to say,) the same price *per* acre whatever the quantity or situation of the land put up for sale: provided also, that the whole of the funds from time to time received as the purchase money of the said lands, or as the rent of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof, shall constitute an "Emigration Fund," and shall, without any deduction whatsoever, except in the case herein-after provided for, be employed in conveying poor emigrants from *Great Britain* or *Ireland* to the said province or provinces: provided also, that the poor persons who shall by means of the said "Emigration Fund" be conveyed to the said province or provinces shall, as far as possible, be adult persons of the two sexes in equal proportions, and not exceeding the age of thirty years.

VII. And be it further enacted, that no poor person having a husband or wife (as the case may be) or a child or children, shall, by means of the said "Emigration Fund," obtain a passage to the said province or provinces, unless the husband or wife (as the case may be), or the child or children of such poor person, shall also be conveyed to the said province or provinces.

VIII. And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under the sign manual, to be countersigned by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to appoint a Commissioner of Public Lands to be resident in the said Colony, and to act under the orders of the said Board of Commissioners as herein-after directed.

IX. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall and they are hereby empowered to appoint such person or persons as they may think fit, treasurer, assistant surveyors, and other officers, for carrying this Act into execution respecting the disposal of the said public lands and the purchase money thereof, and to remove such treasurer or assistant surveyors or other officers at their discretion, and on every or any vacancy in the said office of treasurer, assistant surveyor, or other officers, by removal or by death or otherwise, to appoint, if they see fit, some other person to the said office.

X. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Commissioners to delegate to the said Colonial Commissioner, assistant surveyor, or other officers, or to any of them, such of the powers and authorities with respect to the disposal of the public lands of the said province or provinces,

as the said Commissioners shall think fit; and the powers and authorities so deligated, and the deligation thereof, shall be notified in such manner, and such powers and authorities shall be exercised at such places, for such periods and under such circumstances, and subject to such regulations, as the said Commissioners shall direct; and the said Commissioners may at any time revoke, recall, alter, or vary all or any of the powers and authorities which shall be so delegated as aforesaid.

XI. And be it further enacted, that all monies under the controul of the said Board of Commissioners shall be received and paid by the treasurers who may be appointed by the said Board, and who shall give security for the faithful discharge of their duties to such amount and in such manner as to the said Commissioners may seem fit.

XII. And be it further enacted, that all accounts of the said treasurer shall be submitted to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, and be audited in the same manner as other public accounts.

XIII. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners may and they are hereby empowered from time to time to appoint a secretary, treasurer, and all such clerks, messengers, and officers as they shall think fit, and from time to time, at the discretion of the said Commissioners, to remove such secretary, treasurer, clerks, messengers, and officers, or any of them, and to appoint others in their stead.

XIV. And be it further enacted, that every Commissioner and Colonial Commissioner to be appointed from time to time shall, before he shall enter upon the execution of his office, take the following oath before one of the Judges of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, or one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, or (in the case of such Colonial Commissioners) before the Judge of one of His Majesty's courts in the said province or provinces; (that is to say,)

'I, *A. B.* do swear, that I shall faithfully, impartially, and honestly, according to the best of my skill and judgment, execute and fulfil all the powers and duties of a Commissioner [*or* Colonial Commissioner, *as the Case may be*,] under an Act passed in the fifth year of the reign of King *William* the Fourth, intituled [*here set forth the Title of this Act.*]

XV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that the salaries to be paid to all such persons as may be appointed to any office under this Act, shall be fixed by the Lords of His Majesty's

Treasury, and by them shall be revised from time to time, as they may deem expedient.

XVI. And be it further enacted, that the said Commissioners shall, at least once in every year, and at such other times, and in such form as His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies shall direct, submit to the said Secretary of State a full and particular report of their proceedings; and every such report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks after the receipt of the same by the said Secretary of State, if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not sitting, then within six weeks after the next meeting thereof.

XVII. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Commissioners, previously and until the sale of public lands in the said province shall have produced a fund sufficient to defray the cost of conveying to the said province or provinces from time to time such a number of poor emigrants as may by the said Commissioners be thought desirable, from time to time to borrow and take up on bond or otherwise, payable by instalments or otherwise, at interest not exceeding ten pounds *per centum per annum*, any sum or sums of money not exceeding fifty thousand pounds, for the sole purpose of defraying the costs of the passage of poor emigrants from *Great Britain* or *Ireland* to the said province or provinces, by granting and issuing to any person or persons willing to advance such monies bonds or obligatory writings, under the hands and seals of the said Commissioners, or of any two of them, which bonds or other obligatory writings shall be termed "*South Australia* Public Lands Securities;" and all such sum or sums of money, not exceeding in the whole fifty thousand pounds, so borrowed or taken up by means of the bonds or writings obligatory aforesaid, for the sole purpose aforesaid, shall be borrowed on the credit of, and be deemed a charge upon, the whole of the fund to be received as the purchase-money of public lands, or as the rent of the common of pasturage of unsold portions thereof; and it shall and may be lawful for the said Commissioners from time to time to appropriate all or any part of the monies which may be obtained by the sale of public lands in the said province or provinces to the payment of interest on any such sum or sums borrowed and taken up as aforesaid, or to the repayment of such principal sum or sums.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, that for defraying the necessary costs, charges, and expenses of founding the said intended colony, and of providing for the government thereof, and for the

expenses of the said Commissioners (excepting always the purpose whereunto the said Emigration Fund is made solely applicable by this Act,) and for defraying all costs, charges, and expenses incurred in carrying this Act into execution, and applying for and obtaining this Act, it shall and may be lawful for the said Commissioners from time to time to borrow and take up on bond or otherwise, payable by instalments or otherwise, at interest not exceeding ten pounds *per centum per annum*, any sum or sums of money required for the purposes last aforesaid, not exceeding in the whole the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, by granting or issuing to any person or persons willing to advance such monies bonds or obligatory writings, under the hands and seals of the said Commissioners, or any two of them, which bonds or other obligatory writings shall be termed "*South Australia* Colonial Revenue Securities;" and all such sum or sums of money by the said Commissioners so borrowed and taken up as last aforesaid shall be and is and are hereby declared to be a charge upon the ordinary revenue or produce of all rates, duties, and taxes to be levied and collected as herein-before directed within the said province or provinces, and shall be deemed and taken to be a public debt owing by the said province to the holders of the bond or bonds, or other writings obligatory by the said Commissioners granted for the purposes last aforesaid.

XIX. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Commissioners at any time to borrow or take up any sum or sums of money, for any of the purposes of this Act, at a lower rate of interest than any security or securities previously given by them under and by virtue of this Act which may then be in force shall bear, and therewith to pay off and discharge any existing security or securities bearing a higher rate of interest as aforesaid.

XX. And be it further enacted, that in case it should so happen that the said Commissioners shall be unable to raise by the issue of the said Colonial Revenue Securities, the whole of the said sum of two hundred thousand pounds, or that the ordinary revenue of the said province or provinces shall be insufficient to discharge the obligations of all or any of the said securities, then and in that case, but not otherwise, the public lands of the said province or provinces then remaining unsold, and the monies to be obtained by the sale thereof, shall be deemed a collateral security for payment of the principal and interest of the said colonial debt: provided always, that no monies obtained by the sales of public lands

in the said province or provinces shall be employed in defraying the principal or interest of the said colonial debt so long as any obligation created by the said *South Australian* Public Lands Securities shall remain undischarged: provided also, that in case, after the discharge of all obligations created by the said *South Australian* Public Lands Securities, any part of the monies obtained by the sale of public lands in the said province or provinces shall be employed to discharge any of the obligations created by the said Colonial Revenue Securities, then and in that case the amount of such deduction from the said Emigration Fund shall be deemed a colonial debt, owing by the said province to the Colonization Commissioners for *South Australia*, and be charged upon the ordinary revenue of the said province or provinces.

XXI. And be it further enacted, that the Commissioners nominated and appointed by His Majesty, as aforesaid, may sue and be sued in the name or names of any one of such Commissioners, or of their secretary, clerk or clerks for the time being; and that no action or suit to be brought or commenced by or against any of the said Commissioners, in the name or names of any one of such Commissioners, or their secretary or clerk, shall abate or be discontinued by the death or removal of such Commissioner, secretary, or clerk, or any of them, or by the act of such Commissioner, secretary, or clerk, or any of them, without the consent of the said Commissioners, but that any one of the said Commissioners, or the secretary or clerk for the time being to the said Commissioners, shall always be deemed to be the plaintiff or defendant (as the case may be) in every such action or suit: provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed, construed, or taken to extend to make the Commissioners who shall sign, execute, or give any of the bonds or obligatory writings, so hereby authorized or directed to be given personally, or their respective estates, lands, or tenements, goods, and chattels, or such secretary or clerk, or their or either of their lands and tenements, goods, and chattels, liable to the payment of any of the monies so borrowed and secured by reason of their giving any such bonds or securities as aforesaid, or of their being plaintiff or defendant in any such action as aforesaid; but that the costs, charges, and expenses of every such commissioner, secretary, or clerk, by reason of having been made plaintiff or defendant, or for any contract, act, matter, or thing whatsoever, made or entered into in the *bonâ fide* execution of this Act, from time to time, be

defrayed by the said Commissioners out of the money so borrowed and taken up as aforesaid.

XXII. And be it further enacted, that no person or persons convicted in any court of justice in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, or elsewhere, shall at any time, or under any circumstances be transported as a convict to any place within the limits hereinbefore described.

XXIII. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to frame, constitute, and establish a constitution or constitutions of local government for any of the said provinces possessing a population of fifty thousand souls, in such manner, and with such provisoes, limitations, and restrictions, as shall to His Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, be deemed meet and desirable: provided always, that the mode herein-before directed of disposing of the public lands of the said province or provinces, by sale only, and of the fund obtained by the sale thereof, shall not be liable to be in anywise altered or changed, otherwise than by the authority of His Majesty and the consent of Parliament; provided also, that in the said constitution of local government for the said province or provinces, provision shall be made for the satisfaction of the obligations of any of the said Colonial Revenue Securities which may be unsatisfied at the time of framing such constitution of the said province or provinces.

XXIV. And be it further enacted, that for the purpose of providing a guarantee or security that no part of the expense of founding and governing the said intended colony shall fall on the mother country, the said Commissioners shall, and are hereby empowered and required, out of the monies borrowed and taken up, as aforesaid, on the security of the said *South Australian* Colonial Revenue Securities, to invest the sum of twenty thousand pounds in the purchase of Exchequer-Bills, or other Government Securities in *England*, in the names of trustees, to be appointed by His Majesty; and the said trustees shall hold the said Exchequer-Bills, or other Government Securities, as long as may seem fit to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies; or shall, in case it shall seem fit to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, dispose of the same for any of the purposes to which the monies raised by the issue of the said *South Australian* Colonial Revenue Securities are hereby made applicable: provided always, that if the said Secretary of

State should dispose of any part of the said twenty thousand pounds, a sum or sums equal to the sum or sums so disposed of shall be invested in the names of the said Trustees by the said Commissioners, so that the said Guarantee or Security Fund of twenty thousand pounds shall not at any time be reduced below that amount: provided always, that the interest and dividends accruing from time to time upon the said Exchequer-Bills, or other Government Securities, shall be paid to the said Commissioners, and by them be devoted to the purposes to which, as herein-before directed, the monies to be raised by the issue of the aforesaid *South Australian* Colonial Revenue Bonds are made applicable.

XXV. And be it further enacted, that if, after the expiration of ten years from the passing of this Act, the population of the said province or provinces shall be less than twenty thousand natural-born subjects, then and in that case all the public lands of the said province or provinces which shall then be unsold shall be liable to be disposed of by His Majesty, his heirs and successors, in such manner as to him or them shall seem meet: provided always, that in case any of the obligations created by the *South Australian* Public Lands Securities should then be unsatisfied, the amount of such obligations shall be deemed a charge upon the said unsold public lands, and shall be paid to the holders of such securities out of any monies that may be obtained by the sale of the said lands.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, that until the said Commissioners shall, by the granting and issuing of bonds and writings obligatory, as aforesaid, that is to say, "*South Australian* Colonial Revenue Securities," have raised the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and have invested the same in the purchase of Exchequer-Bills, or other Government Securities, as herein-before directed, and until the persons intending to settle in the said province or provinces and others shall have invested, (either by payment to the said Commissioners, or in the names of trustees to be appointed by them,) for the purchase of public lands in the said province or provinces, the sum of thirty-five thousand pounds, none of the powers and authorities hereby given to His Majesty, or to the said Commissioners, or to any person or persons, except as respects the exercise by the said Commissioners of such powers as are required for raising money by means of and on the security of the bonds or securities last aforesaid, and for receiving and

investing the aforesaid sum of thirty-five thousand pounds for the purchase of public lands, shall be of any effect, or have any operation whatsoever.

No. 8.

The following paper is inserted, because it exhibits the feelings of a considerable number of the colonists; and it is said that societies of dissenters are, also, forming. I sincerely hope that the clergyman chosen may be a *Christian*, and not a *bigotted Protestant;* declaring war upon all other sects; not that I think a bigot of this description could set the colony by the ears, but I am sure he would do the church great injury. This colony is founded in the "spirit of the age," which will not endure religious tyranny. I hope that the Bishop of London, who I see is a subscriber, and the Archdeacon of New South Wales, who is President, will not imagine that I am making war upon the church to which I belong; but the contrary; and I speak truth when I say that unless the church establishment in Australia takes the unboundedly wise and liberal precept of "*do as you would be done by*" for its guide, as it is bound to do by the Divine command of our Saviour, it will commit suicide.

South Australian District Committee of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts.

President, The Venerable the Archdeacon of New South Wales. *Vice-President*, His Excellency the Governor. *Treasurer*, Raikes Currie, Esq. *Trustees*, His Excellency the Governor; The Colonial Secretary; The Commissioner of Public Lands; The Accountant General. *Committee*, Rev. Henry Blunt, Rev. A. M. Campbell, J. Walbanke Childers, Esq., M.P., Raikes Currie, Esq., Rev. Dr. Dealtry, Pascoe St. Leger Grenfell, Esq., John Labouchere, Esq., J. G. S. Lefevre, Esq., W. Wolryche Whitmore, Esq., M.P. *Honorary Secretaries*, Rev. Charles Lloyd, and J. F. Taylor, Esq.

An Act of Parliament has been passed for the purpose of enabling His Majesty to plant a colony, without convict labour, at or near Spencer's Gulf on the South Coast of Australia, a tract of country far removed from the existing penal settlements.

Amongst those who with their families propose to settle in the

new colony, are many members of the Church of England, and they are most anxious that the faith and discipline to which they subscribe, should be planted from the very beginning, and preserved for their children, by means of a sufficient religious establishment. With this view, they are prepared to contribute towards a fund, for the purposes of building churches and clergymen's houses, and supporting clergymen in the colony. For these objects a Committee has been formed, of which a list appears above, and the following Bankers have undertaken to receive subscriptions:—Messrs. Curries and Co., Cornhill; Messrs. Esdailes and Co., Lombard-street; Messrs. Prescotts and Co., Threadneedle-street; and Messrs. Williams and Co., Birchin-lane.

Whatever the consolations and advantages of religion, it is difficult to conceive a situation which requires them more than that in which men place themselves who become the first inhabitants of a wilderness, distant from the abode of society. In the planting of a colony, the chief elements of success are fortitude, patience, and brotherly affection. "We," said the founders of the prosperous State of Massachusetts, "are *knit together* in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; and it is not with us as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." They were distinguished from other men by very strong religious feelings, and by what they considered a sacred obligation to help each other. Amongst all the bodies of men who planted colonies in America, none but these, and the companions of William Penn, who also were bound together by a strong religious tie, greatly prospered from the very beginning.

In the greater number of modern colonies, a religious establishment, though formed in name and appearance, has been but of little real service. In a report by the Bishop of Jamaica laid before Parliament, it was stated, that out of a population of 370,000 souls, only 15,000 persons had a church to assemble in, and that "some parishes of the interior were actually without the semblance of the forms of religious worship." In Upper Canada, again, great pains have been taken to support the doctrines of the Church of England, and yet, by a "Sketch of the state of Religion" in that colony, recently published by the Rev T. Radcliff, of Dublin, it appears "that unless prompt and energetic arrangements be made to meet the wants and desires of the

increasing colonists, there will be, with the absence of sound religious principles, a proportional accession of sects, a total indifference to, or ignorance of, any religion; that many districts are in a deplorable state in this respect, and what is the worst feature, some of the settlers themselves seem careless about it." Such a state of things has occurred before, and it is just what might have been expected. It is amongst the *scattered inhabitants* of the interior of Jamaica that even "the semblance of religious worship is unknown;" and in Upper Canada the colonists are *so widely dispersed* that it is impossible they should often meet for public worship; while, instead of the scholars coming in a body to the teacher, the teacher must necessarily travel about amongst his separated scholars; and thus, in order that all should be properly instructed, a very large establishment of teachers would be required. But in South Australia precautions will be taken, for the first time in the history of modern colonization, to prevent the dispersion of the colonists. The object of the founders of South Australia is not to place a scattered and half barbarous colony on the coast of New Holland, but to establish there, and gradually to extend, a civilized society.* This then is a case in which a colonial religious establishment would be eminently useful. In a colony to which, not men and women merely, but *society* shall be transplanted, there will religion, which is an attribute of society, take immediate root, and exert all its happy social influence. Many attempts to establish religion in our colonies have been attended with disappointment, through the great dispersion and poverty of the colonists:—in the present case, on the contrary, when the object is to maintain religion amongst a civilized society, the efforts which may be made for that great object will, it is confidently hoped, be amply rewarded by success; no exertion which may be afforded to the Society will be labour in vain; nor is there reason to doubt that every contribution for this purpose will, with God's help, fructify to His glory, and to the eternal happiness of His creatures.

On two other grounds in particular, the Society recommend their undertaking to the religious public.

First. It is intended that, in this colony, no waste or public land shall be *given* to settlers, but that all such land shall be *sold*

* The New British Province of South Australia, published by Knight, Ludgate-street.

by auction to the highest bidder above a certain minimum price; —and that *all* the purchase-money of waste or public land shall be employed in conveying to the colony young men and women, in equal proportions. " The moral advantages," it has been well observed, " of such a selection of emigrants would not be few. Each female would have a special protector from the moment of her departure from home. No man would have any excuse for dissolute habits. All the evils which have so often sprung from a disproportion between the sexes would be avoided. Every pair of immigrants would have the strongest motives for industry, steadiness, and thrift. In a colony thus peopled, there would scarcely ever be any single men or single women; nearly the whole population would consist of married men and women, boys and girls, and children. For many years the proportion of children to grown up people would be greater than was ever known since Shem, Ham, and Japhet were surrounded by their little ones. The colony would be an immense nursery; and all being at ease, without being scattered, would offer the finest opportunity that ever occurred to see what may be done for society by universal education. That must be a narrow breast in which the last consideration does not raise some generous emotion." *England and America, vol. ii. p. 215.* And in every religious breast this last consideration will raise an anxious, one might say a tender wish, that in so great a nursery there should be ample means of *Christian* education.

Second. In order to maintain between the colony and its mother-country the most intimate union and affection, not one of the many precautions for that object which have been devised will be more effective than the Church Society. For this Society will be composed of Englishmen and Colonists, mixed together, and engaged in one pursuit; it will sustain in the colony the doctrine and discipline of that church which is established in the mother-country; and by preserving between the mother church and the colonial church the closest relations, it will tend to make the colonist, in the words of Dr. Adam Smith, " instead of turbulent and factious subjects of the mother country, her most faithful and affectionate allies; with the same paternal affection on the one side, and the same filial respect on the other, as used to subsist between the colonies of ancient Greece, and the mother country from which they descended."

Communications to be addressed to J. F. Taylor, Esq. Honorary Secretary, No. 7, John-street, Adelphi.

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